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STANDARD LEAGUE DOCUMENT

No. 4.

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THE INDICTMENT

OF THE

LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

BY DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D.

Price, $7.00 per Hundred. Single Copies, 10 cts.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

IMPRESSED with a deep conviction that an urgent exigency has arisen in the history of the Temperance Cause, a large number of persons in all parts of the land have expressed the opinion that a new organization of the temperance forces should be effected on a broad basis, to conserve and give direction to this important reform. For this purpose, after extensive consultation, a meeting was held in Boston, Jan. 1, 1885, at which "A NATIONAL LEAGUE (non-partisan and non-sectarian) FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC," was organized, under whose direction we now address the public.

A great contest is upon us. A dire and barbarous foe seeks to throttle the Republic, and no weak, doubtful, or one-sided measures will suffice. The times call for combination, on a broad basis of unity.

History abounds in instances of the usurpation and tyranny of oligarchies which were overthrown only by the uprising of *the people*. A formidable institution, familiarly called the Liquor Traffic, exerts a dominant, deadly influence in American society. Its tyrannizing power is felt in politics and legislation, in courts and juries, in trade and finance, in literature and science, in schools and colleges, in social and religious life. An oligarchy of nearly two hundred thousand men, engaged in the sale of intoxicants, presume to claim the responsibilities and privileges of government over fifty million of people. How far it has succeeded in exercising its fatal sway is only too palpable in the evidences of wretchedness, crime, and ruin all around us.

Only a united movement of the people can overthrow this malignant despotism. To combine, so far as possible, all present efforts, and to create new agencies for delivering society from the evils which have proved inseparable from the trade in intoxicants, this National League has been formed. Its members do not think it wise to commit the organization to any political party, nor to form a new one. As a matter of history, they remember that oligarchies are usually overthrown by the people, and not by divided partisan action. The members of this League, therefore, do not favor entangling this reform with partisan affiliations. They believe their purpose will be soonest and best secured by keeping it clear of all such embarrassments.

The work of the League must be largely to create and intensify public sentiment, seeking to build it up from the bottom line of true reform. Intelligent convictions in the hearts of the people, with God's blessing, afford the only sure basis on which deliverance from the alcohol curse can be reasonably expected. To produce, strengthen, and enliven such convictions will be a large part of our work. The needed legislation and enforcement of law will surely follow. Public sentiment soon shows itself in legislation and administration. We propose to build the pyramid not from the apex, but from the base.

This League also invokes, and expects to maintain, the sanction of law in what they are willing to call a crusade against this great organized evil so much to be dreaded in the land. The dealers in liquors ask that they may be left to the same laws which govern other trades. But when a man sells an article the use of which takes away the judgment of him who buys, he must not expect to be left to the laws which govern other tradesmen, for the State must interpose, and insist upon protecting those who are thus made unable to protect themselves.

Is it said that a common business and a common peril unite the dealers in liquors with a bond which makes it sure that they will act as one? We propose to unite against them a hundred times as many men and women who believe that the liquor traffic brings grievous calamities to the land. We shall use every prudent and right method to carry out our purpose, and ask all good people, men and women, of all parties and creeds, to join us in such endeavors.

DANIEL DORCHESTER, BOSTON, *President*.
ALBERT H. PLUMB, BOSTON, *Recording Secretary*.
MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, CLINTON, IOWA, *General Secretary*.
JOSEPH D. WEEKS, PITTSBURG, PA., *Treasurer*.
EDWARD EVERETT HALE, *Chairman of Literature Committee*.

36 BROMFIELD STREET, BOSTON, Jan. 12, 1885.

STANDARD LEAGUE DOCUMENT

No. 4.

7589.100

The Indictment of the Liquor Traffic.

By Rev. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D.

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL LEAGUE
(NON-PARTISAN AND NON-SECTARIAN)
FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC,
36 BROMFIELD STREET, BOSTON.
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Miss Lillian Freeman Clarke,
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THE INDICTMENT.

May it please the Court and the Jury of the People:—

A CASE of transcendent importance has long been under careful inquiry before the Grand Jury, who, after due consideration, have found the *Bill of Indictment* herewith submitted for trial before the Jury of the Whole People. It is the case of

THE ALCOHOLIC LIQUOR TRAFFIC *vs.* SOCIETY.

This Indictment sets forth, first of all, the magnitude of the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic. So far as known and recognized by the Bureau of Internal Revenue of the United States, in the returns made to that office, said traffic comprises:—

Retail Dealers in Distilled Liquors	180,068
Wholesale Dealers in Distilled Liquors	4,291
Rectifiers of Distilled Liquors	1,406
Total, in Distilled Liquors	185,765
Retail Dealers in Malt Liquors	8,220
Wholesale Dealers in Malt Liquors	2.705
Brewers	2,240
Total, in Malt Liquors	13,165
Aggregate	198,930

Besides these, many others confessedly sell alcoholic liquors without any form of Government recognition, making the great army of the traffickers in alcoholic liquors somewhat over 200,000, or one for little more than 250 inhabitants in the whole nation. In some States the proportion is much greater: —

California	has one for	. . . .	82	inhabitants.
Colorado	" "	. . . .	74	"
Louisiana	" "	. . . .	187	"
Maryland	" "	. . . .	148	"
New Jersey	" "	. . . .	146	"
New York	" "	. . . .	145	"
Pennsylvania	" "	. . . .	209	"
Rhode Island	" "	. . . .	187	"
Wisconsin	" "	. . . .	193	"

This Indictment also sets forth that the consumption of alcoholic liquors in the United States, according to the Government reports, for the year ending June 30, 1884, was, in round numbers, 75,000,000 gallons of distilled spirits, 590,000,000 gallons of malt liquors.

So formidable has become this traffic, that it is one of the multiform phenomena of our times, thrusting itself offensively upon the attention of all good citizens everywhere, and calling for the most grave and serious consideration.

The large number of brewers, distillers, wholesale and retail dealers, and their employés and patrons, are essentially a federative body, unified by avarice, appetite, and lust, organized into numerous associations, leagues, and congresses. However diverse their interests in some minor matters, they are essentially a unit, acting with remarkable efficiency and power. They constitute an oligarchy, exerting a vast influence, resisting civil laws, presuming to dictate legislation, and only too successfully, with praiseworthy exceptions, succeeding in defeating the enactment of important statutory and constitutional provisions for the suppression of the great and crying evil of intemperance.

In making this allegation we have not been without definite documentary evidence, but have before us a small book or pamphlet, entitled "The Constitution and Plan of Organization of the League for the Protection of Personal Liberty of Wisconsin (Milwaukee, Wis.: Freidenker Publishing Co., Printers, 1884)." Printed in German, and also in English.

PART I. (PURPOSES) has the following:—

2. The special purpose and object of this league is to prevent, by energetic and organized opposition, any attempts of the *Sunday* and *prohibition* fanatics to accomplish their ends, which consist in the revival of antiquated laws that are in conflict with the fundamental principles of the republic and the spirit of the times. It also proposes to do everything in its power to secure the election of such representatives and legislators as can be relied upon to oppose, energetically and faithfully, the passage of any such *Sunday* or *prohibition laws*, and to use all their influence to repeal laws trespassing on the liberty of conscience and the personal rights of individual citizens.

Under the head of OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES the following appears:—

7. In addition to the executive committee, there is to be a vigilance committee. It is to be composed of the members of the executive committee and one member of each of the societies and organizations represented in the league. Meetings of the vigilance committee may be called at any time when the movements of the enemies of personal liberty require prompt and energetic action on the part of all the societies and citizens sympathizing with the objects of the league.

8. The executive committee shall, immediately after its organization, appoint a finance committee of five, the chairman of which shall be a member of the executive committee, but the other members of the finance committee shall not be members of the executive committee. It shall be the duty of the finance committee to procure the *funds necessary for agitation purposes*. It shall submit necessary propositions, and report its actions to the executive committee.

9. There shall also be *a press committee*, consisting of the officers of the executive committee and *the editors-in-chief of all the newspapers in the county that pledge themselves to support the objects and purposes of the league*.

* * * * * * * *

13. An agitation committee of three shall be appointed by the executive committee for each *assembly* district in the county, who shall inaugurate and supervise the organization in their respective districts, and shall carry out such measures as may be ordered by the executive committee. The *senatorial* district agitation committee shall be composed of the assembly district committees located therein. The district committees shall be empowered

to appoint sub-committees for their respective *wards* and *election precincts*. In appointing agitation committees, *all political parties shall be considered*, as far as practicable.

14. *No candidate for the State Legislature shall receive the support of the league unless he pledges himself, in writing, to labor energetically for the objects of the league, should he be elected. If neither party nominates a candidate giving such a pledge, it shall be the duty of the executive committees and the agitation committees in the respective assembly or senatorial districts to provide in time for the nomination of proper candidates on the part of the league.*

15. These provisions shall also apply to all other candidates for *local, state, or national offices*, provided such office is connected in any manner with the adoption or enforcement of the laws and measures opposed by the league.

There is good evidence that leagues of liquor-dealers similar to the foregoing exist in most parts of the United States, besides the *Brewers' Congress*, the Spirit and Wine Dealers' Associations, etc.; all representing a large amount of capital, and a spirit of determined energy in the maintenance and extension of their mischievous and ruinous occupations.

This Indictment charges that the traffic in alcoholic beverages has been destroying, and is still destroying, the best interests of American society, and that, therefore, it should be suppressed. This obligation for its suppression is clearly predicated upon that great fundamental principle laid down in all the great commentaries on civil law, and in the constitutions of all nations, that it is the office and function of Government to protect the interests and promote the welfare of the governed.

This Indictment sets forth and specifies at length certain great, vital elements which directly pertain to the welfare of human society, and which are so essential and fundamental to the best good of all communities of people, that without them no social compact can long be maintained, and that anything which militates against any or all of these elements will and does prove destructive to human society and the State, tending to deterioration, decay, and ruin.

In order that the fatal antagonism of the liquor traffic to human society may clearly appear, this Indictment duly specifies the follow- elements which are most vital to the public and social welfare, and

against all of which the said traffic in alcoholic beverages wages a deadly and unrelenting warfare. These vital elements are ten in number: —

1. The *Physiological;* or, a healthy condition of the physical system.

2. The *Psychological;* or, a sound and healthy condition of the brain and the nervous system.

3. The *Ethical;* or, a good, vigorous, and well-sustained condition of morals.

4. The *Economic;* or, a sound condition of social and political economy.

5. The *Governmental;* or, the maintenance of civil authority and just principles of civil administration.

6. The *Educational;* or, the promotion of the education of the people.

7. The *Family;* or, the sanctity, the prosperity, and perpetuity of the home.

8. The *Philanthropic;* or, the due alleviation of suffering.

9. *Civilization.*

10. *Religion.*

It is scarcely possible — may it not be truly said to be impossible — to conceive of any other element or elements which so vitally pertain to the best interests of human society as the ten just specified; nor is there any one of them which can be neutralized or materially impaired without inflicting great damage upon all within the entire scope of its influence. They are confessedly, by the almost universal assent of all persons, of all classes, the ten cardinal pillars of human society.

This Indictment further sets forth as palpable, and almost, if not quite, beyond dispute, that the *traffic* in alcoholic beverages implies their prevalence in common use, and the inevitable exposure of the entire people, of all ages and conditions, directly or indirectly, or in both ways, to their seductive and destructive ravages, and that, there-

fore, these fatal effects are justly chargeable to the aforesaid traffic, and upon the civil authorities which sanction it.

It will be readily allowed that, if it could be demonstrated that great benefits accrue to society from the traffic in alcoholic beverages, and that the advantages were so beneficent and numerous as to amply compensate for the terrible ills which they inflict, there would be a reasonable extenuation which could be pleaded for its existence and continuance. But it will be fully shown, by overwhelming evidence, that the evils which flow from the use of alcohol, vastly preponderate over all the benefits, and that the benefits are, at best, dispensable benefits.

If it could be made to appear that the liquor traffic fostered, strengthened, or promoted any one or all of the great elements which have been specified as so vital to the welfare of society, we might well pause, and suspend this process against it. Indeed, in that case it would be entitled to recognition, vindication, and even civil guaranties under the constitution of the State. But, after the most patient and candid research, we are compelled, by the law and evidence, to the opposite view.

This Indictment, therefore, charges that the traffic in alcoholic beverages has in the past, and does at the present time, seriously, continually, and fatally antagonize each and all of the great afore-mentioned elements which so vitally enter into the very structure and life of the race; and that, therefore, said traffic should be suppressed, and placed beyond the pale of legal recognition and sanction.

We present the case under ten COUNTS.

I. THE FIRST COUNT,

Or the Physiological, alleges that the Traffic in Alcoholic Beverages is Promotive of Disease, Infirmity, Physical Deterioration, and Premature Death.

This *count* is predicated upon the fundamental importance of the healthy physical condition of the race. It is the question of health or disease, strength or weakness, vigor or effeminacy, lengthened lives or shortened lives, vigorous or feeble offspring. It is the question of race-condition, pertaining to its very life. In our investigations we have found that the relation of the traffic in alcoholic beverages to the physical welfare of society has been widely, thoroughly, and scientifically discussed, and we therefore cite many lucid testimonies of a high order bearing upon the subject, and have no doubt that they will be duly discriminated, and weighed in the light of the law and common sense.

ANDREW CLARK, M.D., F.R.C.P., London, Physician in Ordinary to the Queen, Physician, etc., at the London Hospital. —" As I looked at the Hospital wards to-day, and saw that seven out of ten owed their diseases to alcohol, I could but lament that the teaching about this question was not more direct, more decisive, more home-thrusting than even it had been. . . . Can I say to you any words stronger than these, of the terrible effects of the abuse of alcohol? It is when I myself think of all this, that I am disposed, as I have said elsewhere, to rush to the opposite extreme, to give up my profession, to give up everything, and to go forth upon a holy crusade, preaching to all men — *Beware of this enemy of the race.*"

SIR WILLIAM GULL, F.R.S., Physician to Her Majesty. — "*I should say from my experience, that alcohol is the most destructive agent that we are aware of in this country.* I would like to say, *that a very large number of people in society are dying day by day, poisoned by alcohol*, but not supposed to be poisoned by it."

BENJAMIN W. RICHARDSON, M.D., F.R.S., — " I had learned, purely by experimental observation, that in its actions on the living body, this chemical substance, alcohol, deranges the constitution of the blood; unduly excites the heart and respiration; paralyzes the minute blood-vessels; increases and decreases, according to the degree of its application, the functions of the digestive organs, of the liver, and of the kidneys; disturbs the regularity of nervous action; lowers the animal temperature, and lessens the

muscular power. Such, independently of any prejudice of party, or influence of sentiment, are the unanswerable teachings of the sternest of all evidences, the evidences of experiment — of natural fact revealed to man by experimental testing of natural phenomena. . . . It begins by destroying, it ends by destruction, and it implants organic changes which progress independently of its presence even in those who are not born."

SIR HENRY THOMPSON, F.R.S., Surgeon Extraordinary to His Majesty the King of the Belgians, and Surgeon to University College Hospital.—"I have long had the conviction that there is no greater cause of evil, moral and physical, in this country, than the use of alcoholic beverages. . . . I have no hesitation in attributing a very large proportion of some of the most painful maladies which come under my notice, as well as those which every medical man has to treat, to the ordinary and daily use of fermented drink taken in the quantity which is conventionally deemed moderate. . . . But if I venture one step farther, it would be to express a belief that there is no single habit in this country which so much tends to deteriorate the qualities of the race, and so much disqualifies it for endurance in that competition which in the nature of things must exist, and in which struggle the prize of superiority must fall to the best and to the strongest."

It is now quite generally admitted that *intemperance* is an evil, and that it should not be tolerated; but it is claimed that it is only the abuse of alcoholic liquors that is harmful, while the *moderate* use of *mild, fermented* liquors is even promotive of physical health and strength. In support of this view much has been said of the superior physical constitution of the German people, with their beer-drinking habits; but whatever may be said of some districts of Germany, it is certain that there are large areas where there is a serious physical deterioration of the people.

DR. WALD, of Konigsberg, in a paper read, in 1852, before the German Protestant Conference for Inner Missions, at Bremen, said that "in taking a conscription, in the spring of 1852, for a district of Western Prussia, out of one hundred and seventy-four young men, only four were declared admissible by the reviewing army surgeons, the rest being physically incapacitated by the use of alcohol."

DR. EZRA HUNT, Editor of the Sanitary Department of the *Independent*, in the issue of March 1st, 1883, says: "*The dire effect of beer-drinking is attracting the attention of the German Government, and the resulting race deterioration is making itself felt.*" Within two years the Government has been seriously perplexed to know what to do with its 200,000 tramps and vagabonds.

But this question will be more fully met by other testimonies which will be adduced in regard to the healthfulness and longevity of moderate drinkers, about which we often hear preposterous statements. We first cite an eminent witness who has spoken on the side of moderate drinking.

SIR JAMES PAGET, an honored English surgeon, in a recent article in the *Contemporary Review*, said that "no comparisons on an accurate basis have ever been made, by which we can test the relative merits of moderate drinking and total abstinence."

But Sir James seems to have overlooked abundant data existing at his very elbow — that furnished by several English Life Insurance Companies of a high rank.

THE UNITED KINGDOM TEMPERANCE AND GENERAL PROVIDENT INSTITUTION (1 Adelaide Place, London Bridge, E. C.), founded in 1840, until 1847 was composed of total abstainers alone.

In the year 1847 non-abstainers were admitted into a distinct section, so far as whole-life policies were concerned. But in the other section, no drunkards were admitted — only *moderate* drinkers. Rev. Dawson Burns, D.D., says: "In 1855, the first quinquennial (five years') bonus was declared. Since then five other bonuses have been declared; and as the premiums in each section are the same, the proportion of the bonuses in each section affords a fair standard as to the relative longevity and health of the members of each section. In such a comparison the large numbers would show most favorably, other things being equal, and the members of the General (Moderate Drinkers') Section have, for many years, outnumbered the abstainers in the Temperance Section in the proportion of three to two. This difference is now somewhat reduced. What have been the actual facts as unfolding themselves over a period of thirty years (1850–1879, inclusive)?"

PERCENTAGE BONUSES ON PREMIUMS PAID.

Temperance Section.		General Section.	
1855	From 35 to 75 per cent.	1855	From 23 to 50 per cent.
1860	" 35 " 86 "	1860	" 24 " 59 "
1865	" 23 " 56 "	1865	" 17 " 52 "
1870	" 34 " 84 "	1870	" 20 " 49 "
1875	" 35 " 114 "	1875	" 20 " 64 "
1880	" 41 " 135 "	1880	" 26 " 83 "

The relation between the two sections may be presented in another light, the figures for which are available from 1866 to 1882, inclusive.

Expectancy of life is made the basis of the rates of premium in the tables used in insurance offices; and a mortality below that expectancy is, therefore, an evidence of special longevity and vigor. Out of so many persons, a given number are expected to die; and if fewer die, then the body of members, as a whole, is proved to be possessed of special vitality; and by applying the same standard to two bodies, we get at a certain index of their relative vital force. How do the two Sections of the Temperance and General Provident Institution respond to this equitable test?

	Temperance Section.		General Section.	
	Expected Deaths	Actual Deaths.	Expected Deaths.	Actual Deaths.
1866	100	85	180	186
1867	105	71	191	169
1868	109	95	202	179
1869	115	73	212	201
1870	120	87	223	209
Five years,	549	411	1008	944

	Temperance Section.		General Section.	
	Expected Deaths.	Actual Deaths.	Expected Deaths.	Actual Deaths.
1871	127	72	234	217
1872	137	90	244	282
1873	144	118	253	246
1874	153	110	263	288
1875	162	121	274	297
Five years,	723	511	1268	1330
1876	168	102	279	253
1877	179	132	291	280
1878	187	117	299	317
1879	196	164	305	326
1880	203	136	311	304
Five years,	933	651	1485	1480
1881	214	131	320	290
1882	225	157	327	295
Grand total,	2644	1861	4408	4339

"1. The above table shows that as in the Temperance Section 2,644 deaths were expected, and only 1,861 occurred, the survivals above expectancy were 783, or 29½ per cent; and as in the General Section the expected deaths were 4,408, and the actual deaths 4,339,

the survivals were 69, or 1½ per cent, giving the Temperance Section a superiority of 28 per cent.

"2. In every successive year the deaths in the Temperance Section fell considerably below the expected number; while in the General Section, in six years of the series, the expected deaths were exceeded by the actual.

"3. If, in a comparison with selected lives of adults, the Temperance Section showed a superiority of 28 per cent, it is reasonable to infer that — taking the whole population, and remembering how large a portion of adult and infant life is sacrificed to intemperance and its effects — an equal saving of life would result from the universal adoption of total abstinence. Now, the population of the United Kingdom was estimated in the middle of 1882 to be 35,250,000, and the deaths in 1882 were 678,486 (England, 516,783; Scotland, 72,966; Ireland, 88,737), and on an estimate of 28 per cent, we have 189,980 lives that were sacrificed, in one form or other, to alcohol, and that might have been saved in one single year by universal total abstinence. This number far exceeds the estimate of 40,000 persons directly slain each year by drink, and 80,000 others sacrificed by privations, neglect, accidents, etc.,— a total of 120,000; but it falls short of Dr. Richardson's estimate of the hygienic results of a state of perfect abstention from intoxicating liquors." — *Rev. Dawson Burns, D.D., London.*

We submit for your consideration whether this testimony is not clear and impartial. No drunkards, it is claimed, are accepted in either section, and only those who use *mild* liquors *moderately* are accepted in the General Section, and the expectation of life is calculated for all alike, on age; and yet, it is shown that in the Total Abstainers' Section, in every 100 expected deaths 29½ survived, and in the Moderate Drinkers' Section, in every 100 expected deaths only 1½ survived. This certainly seems like a rigid test, predicated upon a thorough scientific basis. We refer you to similar testimonies from other life insurance societies:—

THE BRITON LIFE ASSOCIATION (LIMITED) (429 Strand, W. C.), represents that it insures total abstainers, at a reduction of 10 per cent on the premiums charged to others. The Secretary (Oct. 29, 1883), says, "The deduction we allow from the premiums of total abstainers has been arrived at, after careful consideration of the experience which we all have before us now as to the superiority of the lives of such."

THE SCEPTRE LIFE ASSOCIATION (LIMITED) (40 Finsbury Pavement, E. C.), found in the seven years ending Dec. 31, 1882, 335 actual deaths out of 438 expected deaths, or only 24 per cent below expectancy in the Moderate Drinker's Section; while in the Total Abstainers' Section, there were 73 actual deaths out of 165 expected deaths, or 56 per cent below expectancy. The Secretary, over date of Oct. 22, 1883, said that

for eighteen years we expected 270 deaths in the Total Abstainer's Section, but had only 116. He adds: "The saving of life has thus been at the rate of 57 per cent."

THE VICTORIA MUTUAL ASSURANCE SOCIETY (LIMITED) (1 Finsbury Square Buildings, E. C), testifies that in two years (1881 to 1883), in the Total Abstainer's Section, the claims absorbed only 20.3 per cent of the premiums, and in the Moderate Drinker's section they absorbed 33.2 per cent of the premiums.

THE WHITTINGTON LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY (LIMITED) (58 Moorgate Street, E. C.), in the Twenty-Sixth Annual Report, Sept. 1881, testifies, "The continued favorable rate of mortality among the policy-holders in the Temperance (Total Abstainer's) Section, has enabled the directors to declare a reversionary bonus in that section at the rate of from 16s. to 22s. 8d. per cent per annum."

Rev. Dr. Dawson Burns presents a comparison of the Odd Fellows, who do not require total abstinence of their members, and the Rechabites, who invariably require total abstinence of their members: —

THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES (SALFORD UNITY). This Benefit Society, which makes certain payments during sickness and at death, was formed in 1835, in order to provide total abstainers with a means of joining a Benefit Society apart from the public-house. Its chief office is at 96 and 98 Lancaster Avenue, Manchester: its local bodies are called "Tents," and its membership in the United Kingdom was reported to the High Movable Conference, August, 1883, at 31,937.

In a paper by Mr. Z. Catlow, read at Bradford, 8th June, 1874, some interesting statistics are presented: —

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

Date.	No. of Members.	No. of Members Sick.	Period of Sickness.	Average Sickness per Member		Amount paid for Sickness.			Average payment per Member.		No. of Deaths.	One in
			Days.	D.	H.	£	s.	d.	s.	d.		
1868	3,288	651	39,126	11	21	1,901	10	6	11	9	62	53
1869	3,288	636	40,552	12	4	1,943	11	7	11	10	56	58
1870	3,330	688	47,351	14	5	2,290	3	5	13	9	69	48
1871	3,382	715	46,660	13	19	2,209	2	2	13	1	66	51
1872	3,453	725	46,845	13	14	2,283	4	0	13	3	74	47
Totals	16,741	....	220,534	65	15	10,627	11	8	63	8	...	...

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES.

Date.	No. of Members.	No. of Members Sick.	Period of Sickness.	Average Sickness per Member.		Amount paid for Sickness.			Average payment per Member.		No. of Deaths.	Or one in
			Days.	D.	H.	£	s.	d.	s.	d.		
1868	475	81	1,459	3	2	123	9	4	5	2½	4	118
1869	575	...	1,796	3	3	141	15	10	5	3	4	143
1870	600	97	3,520	5	20	245	13	1	8	2	7	85
1871	683	85	1,806	2	16	123	3	8	3	7½	3	227
1872	602	71	1,670	2	19	121	2	8	4	0½	3	200
Totals	2,935	...	10,251	17	12	755	4	7	26	3½	...	...

In a paper by Dr. Thornley, at Bolton, 9th November, 1882, it is stated: "In Blackburn, Bolton, and Manchester there are 3,400 Rechabites; their deaths in 1876 were 46, or a rate of 13.5 per 1,000. In the Bolton District of Rechabites in the same year, the death-rate was only 11.2 per 1,000. In Blackburn there are 3,500 Odd Fellows, and in 1876 they had 76 deaths, or a death-rate of 21.42 per 1,000. In the Rechabites, they had 554 members sick, 16.2 per cent; while the Odd Fellows had 720 sick, or 20.53 per cent. The total number of weeks' sick-pay in the Rechabites was 2,999, or an average for each member sick of five weeks two days and twenty-one hours. The Odd Fellows had a total of 6,355 weeks' sickness, or an average for each member sick of eight weeks five days and eight hours. For every 100 Rechabites, there were sixteen sick. For every 100 Odd Fellows there were twenty sick. In Bolton District of Rechabites for ten years the death-rate was 13 per 1,000; while in Blackburn District of Odd Fellows for ten years their death-rate was 19 per 1,000. During the year 1874, when typhoid fever prevailed in Over Darwen, the Rechabites, out of 164 members, had three deaths, while the Darwen Odd Fellows had 19 deaths out of 620 members,—or, Rechabite death-rate 18 per 1,000, Odd Fellows, 31 per 1,000. But the publicans in Over Darwen during the same fever year died at the rate of 150 per 1,000 — that is, for one Rechabite eight publicans died. Again, during the fever year, the Rechabites, who pay a less contribution per member, in the Darwen Tent alone received £111, 19s. 1½d., and they paid for sickness and funerals £79, 4s., thus leaving a surplus of £32, 15s. 1½d.; the Odd Fellows in Darwen in the same year, although they paid a larger weekly contribution, lost over £90. In 1873 the average sick pay in Darwen to Rechabites was 4s. 9½d., and the Odd Fellows, 10s. 10d."

The *Sanitary Review*, in a comparison of vital statistics, remarked: "The greater healthiness of the members of Abstinence Friendly Societies is strikingly proved by the following figures: Among the adult males in England the mortality per 1,000 between twenty and twenty-five is 8.83, between twenty-five and thirty-five it is 9.57, and between thirty-five and forty-five, 12.48; but in publicans, aged thirty, it is as high as 13

per 1,000. In those districts from which complete returns have been obtained, there were 16,269 Rechabites; of these, 2,630 were ill in 1874, the number of weeks of illness amounting to 14,403, while the deaths were 120. The per centage of sick during the year was 16.16; the death-rate was 7.4 per 1,000; and the number of days' illness per member was 6.16. The Odd Fellows is a large, well-established Friendly Society a little over fifty years old, and numbers upward of 500,000 members. In 1874 their receipts exceeded £625,000. Two years ago the average amount of funds per member was as high as £7, 4s. 9d., and the estimated capital of the Society now falls little short of £3,800,000. Like the Rechabites, the Odd Fellows have ramifications in many foreign countries. Every five years the Odd Fellows draw up copious returns of the mortality and sickness during the preceding quinquennial period. The last of these reports, 1st June, 1872, is for the five years ending 1870. Fortunately, in these returns members living in foreign countries are excluded. The mean annual mortality appears, in the five years ending 1870, to have been 12.626 per 1,000; the mean sickness per member was in the same period 10.5 days; and the number constantly ill averaged 28.75 per 1,000. These figures apply to the Odd Fellows as a whole, and are therefore available for comparison with the Rechabite grand totals. In those districts from which the returns are full and accurate, there were 16,269 Rechabites. Now, had the mortality among them in 1874 been 12.626 per 1,000 (the rate that obtained among the Odd Fellows) instead of 7.47, the deaths, instead of 120, would have been 205. Had the average sickness per member been 10.5 days instead of 6.14, the Society would have had to bear 70,933 more days' sickness, so that the weeks' illness would have stood at 24,536, instead of 14,403. Should the Rechabites at any future time muster half a million, the annual saving, were the same low mortality to continue, would exceed 2,500 lives. It is at once apparent from the above figures that, making all possible allowance for errors, the Rechabites compare very favorably with the Odd Fellows — one of the best-managed and the largest non-temperance friendly societies in the world; and there is no doubt that they compare favorably with the corresponding non-temperance classes taken as a whole."

Rev. Dr. Burns also presents the following vital statistics of total abstinence; in which the sickness and mortality of the members of non-abstaining Friendly Societies are compared with the Sons of Temperance: —

AMOUNT OF SICKNESS PER ANNUM FOR EACH MEMBER AT RISK.

Age.	Sons of Temperance.	M. U. Odd Fellows' Experience, Rural Towns and City Districts, 1866–1870.	M. U. Odd Fellows' Experience, Rural Districts, 1866–1870.	Foresters, 1871–1875.
	Weeks.	Weeks.	Weeks.	Weeks.
18–20	.41	.66	.63	.91
21–25	.54	.76	.77	.81
26–30	.52	.82	.84	.87
31–35	.66	.95	.97	1.01
36–40	1.06	1.08	1.06	1.18
41–45	.82	1.32	1.32	1.44
46–50	1.02	1.75	1.83	1.77
51–55	.97	2.35	2.45	2.48
56–60	.75	3.30	3.23	3.39
61–65	.73	5.13	4.68	5.12
66–70	Nil	8.06	6.90	8.68
	7.48	26.20	24.68	27.66

PERCENTAGE PER ANNUM OF DEATHS TO MEMBERS AT RISK.

Age.	Sons of Temperance.	M. U. Odd Fellows' Experience, Rural Towns and City Districts, 1866–1870.	M. U. Odd Fellows' Experience, Rural Districts, 1866–1870.	Foresters, 1871–1875.
18–20	.34	.56	.51	.73
21–25	.46	.67	.62	.75
26–30	.25	.77	.72	.74
31–35	.79	.84	.81	.92
36–40	.54	1.00	.96	1.12
41–45	.62	1.25	1.19	1.34
46–50	.66	1.51	1.22	1.73
51–55	1.05	2 01	1.76	2.26
56–60	.98	2.66	2.45	3.05
61–65	5.55	3.98	3.42	4.14
66–70	Nil	5.35	4.35	6.22
	11.24	20.64	18.01	23.00

The foregoing testimonies, in the most crucial, impartial, and incontrovertible form, demonstrate that even the moderate use of the milder

fermented liquors shortens life, and that in respect to sickness and longevity, total abstainers hold an immense advantage. Another very eminent witness fully corroborates the foregoing testimonies.

NORMAN S. KERR, a distinguished scientific physician and philanthropist of Great Britain, says: "The estimate of 40,500 dying every year in the United Kingdom from their own intemperance, and 79,500 dying from disease, violence, accident, or starvation consequent on the intemperance of others, has been submitted to several representative medical gatherings, and has, I regret to say, not been seriously disputed: in fact it has been pronounced moderate, and far within the truth by such competent authorities as the late Dr. Hardwicke, and many other coroners and medical officers of health. Dr. Noble, of Manchester, attributes one-third of our disease to intemperance; and Dr. Richardson has given utterance to the opinion that were the British a temperate nation, the national vitality would be increased one-third; or, in other words, 227,000 lives would be saved every year."

What a havoc of human life! Alcohol is the most serious depredator upon the race, exceeding war, famine, and pestilence.

The final witness, whose testimony confirms all the preceding testimonies, is one of the most widely read, candid, and discriminating minds among all the scientific gentlemen who have given attention to this question.

EZRA M. HUNT, M.D., Editor of the Sanitary Department of the *Independent*, summed up an elaborate review of the scientific status of alcohol in these words: "Every gain in sanitary knowledge and in a study of the conditions of perfect health, tends to drive alcohol from use, and to find in those foods which correspond with the human system the aliments which sustain human life."

The highest medical testimonies, therefore, clearly allow no place for alcohol in a healthy living organism.

Such is the evidence which we submit to the Jury of the Whole People in support of the first *Count* in this Indictment against the Liquor Traffic.

II. THE SECOND COUNT,

Or the Psychological, alleges that the Traffic in Alcoholic Beverages Inflicts Serious Injury upon the Brain and the Nervous System, and that wherever the said Traffic is allowed Incalculable Evils Follow.

It will not be disputed that a healthy condition of the brain is of the utmost importance to the safety and welfare of society. If so, then any beverage which tends to disturb the normal condition of the brain, to impair or derange its action, should not be allowed to come into common use. We refer you to the testimony of medical experts, who affirm that alcohol has a peculiar affinity for the brain; that in the autopsies of drunkards, alcohol has been taken in teaspoonfuls from the ventricles of the brain; that its action is to excite or to stupefy; that it often inflames and crazes the brain, and makes the subject uncontrollable; that *alcoholism* has come to be regarded as a disease, in which the patient is in a grossly abnormal condition, disqualified for intercourse with society, often a disturber of the public peace, and a perpetrator of crimes which when free from the influence of alcohol he would never commit.

What is *delirium tremens* but alcoholic insanity? The best medical authorities agree that alcohol is a powerful promoter of insanity.

THE MIDLAND MEDICAL MISCELLANY (English) for April, 1885, says that "drunkards now constitute 55 per cent of the insane persons in the Paris asylums."

DR. T. D. CROTHERS, Superintendent of the Asylum for Inebriates, at Hartford, Conn., in the National Association for the discussion of treatment for the insane in 1883, said, that "alcohol causes from 20 to 50 per cent of all the insanity cases."

DR. BAER, of Berlin, and DR. NORMAN KERR, of England, affirm that "inebriety is a disease, and liable to lead directly to insanity; that the two diseases are intimately connected."

LORD SHAFTESBURY is quoted in the *Fortnightly Review* as saying: "We shall see that a large proportion of the cases of lunacy are ascribable to intoxication, and we shall draw, moreover, this startling conclusion, — that if thousands are deprived, from this

cause, of their reason, and incarcerated in mad-houses, there must be manifold more who, though they fall short of absolute insanity, are impaired in their understanding and moral perceptions."

THE AUTHOR of the *Fortnightly* article adds: "I go a step further, and hold that there is abundant evidence to prove, that to dissipation and drunkenness, either directly or consequentially, by transmission to the next generation, is to be charged an immense proportion of the annual increase of lunacy."

DR. CLARKE, in a recent number of the *Brain*, said that "alcoholism in parents is the predisposing cause of crime and epilepsy in their children"; that "44 per cent of epileptic criminals were the children of drunken parents"; that "the proportion of epileptic and insane relatives is found to be very much greater with criminals than with ordinary epileptics"; that "the convictions for bastardy are three times as numerous among epileptics as among non-epileptics," etc.

It should not be overlooked that the advocates of beer, in a pamphlet recently issued, claim that only about 7 per cent of the insane in the United States are made so by alcoholic drinks. But good authorities rate the proportion much higher.

DR. H. M. BANNISTER says: "Besides those cases that are directly due to the toxic effects of alcohol on the system, there are others that are more or less directly due to intemperance. For instance: There are very many cases in which insanity is caused by drunken imprudence, though they have to be classed as due to traumatism, exposure, syphilis, etc., to say nothing of those in which the direct, exciting causes could not have worked effectually except on constitutions weakened by alcoholic indulgence and those in which the depraved nervous organization received from intemperate parents is almost an insurance of mental disease. The experience of asylum physicians, as a rule, does not lead to the conclusion that intemperance is of minor consequence as a producer of insanity, and I find that a lack of personal prejudice against the use of alcohol does not generally affect the opinion of medical men in this regard. Leaving aside any extreme statements of temperance workers, as well as the contrary ones, it may be safely said that there is scarcely any more potent factor in the production of insanity than the use of alcoholic drinks, and that statistics, imperfect as they necessarily are, point unmistakably to the conclusion that at least ten, and probably a much larger, per cent of all cases are directly due to this cause; which figure does not include those cases in which it is indirectly a producer of insanity, or those in which it co-operates with other causes in bringing about this result. Including these classes, the proportion of cases of insanity due more or less directly to intemperance would very probably be as great as the highest estimate mentioned in this article."

L. L. DORR, M.D., of California, in an article on Suicide, in the *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal*, says: "It is asserted of suicides in general, that at least seven per cent

are immediately due to drunkenness, while the subject is on a debauch or suffering from delirium tremens. Let us see how we, in this wine-growing, spirit-drinking country, compare in this respect. According to the record, eighteen per cent of all suicides in this city during four recent years were immediately caused by alcohol — a number nearly three times as great as the average of suicides in general; a circumstance greatly to be deplored, but yet not strange in this land of many murders and abundant crime. It is an acknowledged fact that alcohol is the predisposing or immediate cause of nearly all the crime and much of the unhappiness of civilized countries."

Even in the form of the milder alcoholic liquors, such as beer, a stupid, abnormal condition of the brain follows. "'He that drinks beer thinks beer,' was Dr. Johnson's forcible way of expressing its dulling effects on the brain; and it serves other organs, equally useful and essential, in the same way, giving ample work for physicians, and spoiling the best work of surgeons."

It is worthy of notice that the relation of the alcohol traffic to public business and public safety is coming to be recognized. What perils, accidents, and losses of life have occurred through drink! A St. Louis newspaper reports a thrilling incident: —

A wealthy man in St. Louis was asked to aid in a series of temperance meetings, but he scornfully refused. After being further pressed, he said: —

"Gentlemen, it is not my business."

A few days after, his wife and two daughters were coming home in the lightning express. In his grand carriage, with liveried attendants, he rode to the depot, thinking of his splendid business and planning for the morrow. Hark! Did some one say, "Accident"? There are twenty-five railroads centering in St. Louis. If there has been an accident, it is not likely it has happened on the —— and Mississippi Railroad. Yet it troubles him. "It is his business" now. The horses are stopped on the instant, and upon inquiring he finds it has occurred twenty-five miles distant, on the —— and Mississippi. He telegraphs to the superintendent,—

"I will give you five hundred dollars for an extra engine."

The answer flashes back, "No."

"I will give you one thousand dollars for an engine."

"A train with surgeons and nurses has already gone forward, and we have no other."

With white face and anxious brow the man paced the station to and fro. That is his business now. In half an hour, perhaps, which seemed to him half a century, the train arrived. He hurried toward it, and in the tender found the mangled and lifeless remains of his wife and one of his daughters. In the car following lay his other daughter, with her dainty ribs crushed in, and her precious life oozing slowly away.

A quart of whiskey, which was drunk fifty miles away by a railroad employé, was the cause of the catastrophe.

The disturbing effects of alcohol upon the brain are already recognized by the managers of railroads, express companies, and other great corporations in whose hands are intrusted property and lives. In Sweden the sale of ardent spirits is prohibited at all railroad stations. It is currently stated that the American Express Company has decided to dismiss any and every employé who uses intoxicating liquors. The sale of intoxicants has also been reported to be forbidden at all the restaurants of the Grand Trunk Railroad. The Erie, Chicago and Alton Railroads are said to have adopted a prohibitory law on their lines. We introduce three items of documentary evidence bearing upon this point.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY. "Chief Superintendent's Office, Moncton, N. B., April 5, 1883. (Circular No. 64.) *To all Officers and Employés:* The Honorable Minister of Railways and Canals attaches so much importance to sobriety among the employés of the railway, and to the example set by those in the higher grades of the service to the men employed under them, that it is ordered that the regulation contained in Circular No. 62 shall be extended to all officers and employés, without exception.

"And hereafter, any officer or employé who is known to be intoxicated, whether on duty or not, will be at once dismissed from the service. D. POTTINGER, *Chief Superintendent.*"

THE GENERAL MANAGER OF THE ST. LOUIS AND SAN FRANCISCO RAILROAD issued the following General Order, in 1883: "*To all Employés:* It is necessary, for the safety of the patrons of this line and the preservation of the property of this company, that persons employed by it should totally abstain from the use of liquor while in the discharge of their duty.

"The use of intoxicating liquors by the employés of this company when on duty, is hereby strictly prohibited. Should any employé be found frequenting saloons or under the influence of liquor during business hours, he will be discharged, and not again be employed by this company.

"Heads of departments are directed to strictly enforce this order.

"It is my desire to encourage sobriety and temperance among employés, and when any position is to be filled, preference will be given to men who are known to be of strictly temperate habits. (Signed) C. W. ROGERS, *Vice-President and General Manager.*"

THE CUNARD STEAMSHIP COMPANY issued the following order: "(Circular No. 7. Nov. 7, 1882.) The Board of Directors have decided that after the 1st of December, proximo, the allowance of rum to seamen and firemen on board the company's ships will be abolished, and coffee substituted therefor."

The testimony of the public press is also relevant.

THE SANTA FÉ *New Mexican*, in an article in 1883 on Whiskey and Railroads, said: "While by no means a prohibitionist in a political sense, yet, so far as the interests of the traveling public are concerned, we are of the opinion that no man should hold any position whatever on a railroad who is in the habit of using whiskey to excess, or even moderately. We go further than this. No man should be eligible to a position on a moving train, or where his action may possibly affect its welfare, who ever touches a drop under any circumstances. This provision should apply to superintendents, general and division train-dispatchers, switchmen, signal-men, lookouts, guards, watchmen, and, in short, every man by whose acts a moving train may be affected or influenced in the slightest manner.

"Besides the safety of the people traveling, which is always the first consideration, the welfare of the company is at stake. By carelessness or the inefficiency induced by whiskey the company is put into a damage suit, and for one single lapse on the part of even a mere servant, it pays hundreds of thousands of dollars. In this way property is destroyed — one or more costly engines and valuable coaches are so wrecked that it is often cheaper to replace them by others than to repair them. Track is also torn up, and we have the cost of its repair, to say nothing of the delay and annoyance of having business blocked up on the line in consequence of the obstruction. Then, too, both passengers and freight seek another route for the time being, and that loss is to be added to the damage.

"But the most serious injury is inflicted in the reputation which clings to a road when one or two bad accidents are traceable to drunkenness. Railroads do not always credit the people with the degree of watchfulness in such matters that they are entitled to. But these things are talked over widely. The papers may, for many reasons, choose to ignore them, but they flash far and near wherever the traveling public penetrates, and the throng, by tacit agreement, goes to its destination by some other route which they believe to be free from this vice, and, consequently, safer. An American railroad which would broadly advertise that it employed no man addicted to the use of whiskey in any capacity whatever where his habit could, by the remotest chance, affect the safety of moving trains, would catch the business without a doubt. The mass of the people who travel may be opposed to prohibition, as a moral or political proposition, but not a single one of them but would take advantage of the safety to be found on the road operated entirely by men who 'look not upon the wine when it is red.'"

Publicists have volunteered their testimony.

GENERAL DIAZ, during his recent visit to the United States, was given a banquet by the Chicago Board of Trade. The President of the Board took occasion to say to him, "Our honored guest must not feel that I turn down the glass from any motives of discourtesy;" to which General Diaz responded, through his interpreter, "Ah, no!

I perfectly recognize the value of the total abstinence principle and example, and myself drink very little, believing that no man of affairs can do either himself or his cause justice unless he keeps a clear brain."

A STATESMAN, moved by the example of Sir Garnet Wolseley as a total abstainer, said: "Alcohol very soon affects the balance of the faculties; and, therefore, the less people who need to have their heads about them take of it, the better they are off."

J. J. MUTRIE, Manager of the Metropolitan Base-Ball Club, said: "It is erroneous to suppose that professional players are sluggers and rowdies, or drunkards. Such men do not last long in prominent positions now. A professional player is liable to expulsion if he is seen in a pool-room, and gambling is strictly prohibited. . . . Take, for instance, our Metropolitan team. They are as steady a lot of men as you could wish for. Half-a-dozen of them do not know the taste of liquor."

It has been often asserted that alcohol has great power in quickening and sustaining intellectual activity, and is therefore helpful to men in intellectual pursuits. Two distinguished witnesses have recently appeared in support of this view.

SIR JAMES PAGET says: "The habitually drinking nations and individuals have done the best and most brain work."

LORD BRAMWELL, of England, has recently cited the Mohammedans, who eschew alcoholic liquors, as inferior in their brain-work.

Canon Farrar has eloquently replied: "When Lord Bramwell triumphantly clinches the argument by a contemptuous reference to the brain-work of Mohammedans, let me remind him that the despised Mohammedans — Avicenna in the East, and Averrhoes in the West — gave the chief impulse to philosophy, medicine, and science in the modern world; that Albert the Great and Sir Thomas Aquinas did not disdain to learn from the Arabic commentators on Aristotle; and that even the name for the substance which Lord Bramwell considers to be so beneficent, is a Mohammedan word. Sir James Paget thinks that moderate drinkers, as individuals, do better brain-work than others. To take instances only from my own profession, does he see any deficiency in the brain-work of such men as the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Gloucester, or the Bishop of Durham, — three of the best scholars and ablest prelates on the Bench, — each of whom has been a total abstainer

for many years? Milton lived before the Temperance movement, yet he speaks with very little respect of "work rays'd from the heat of youth or the vapors of wine, like that which flows at wast from the pen of some vulgar amorist or the trencher fury of a riming parasite."

It has also been well answered: "Has Lord Bramwell forgotten how the torch of civilization and science, after the death of the Roman Empire, was nobly relighted and upheld by the Arabian instructors of Europe? And of the muscle-power, wielded by the brain-power, of Mohammedans, did not their mediæval overrunning and mastery of almost all the then civilized world give fearful proof?"

And it has been pertinently asked, "What is it that has since taken the scepter out of the hands of the Mohammedans?" Not alcohol-drinking, but Christianity, modern science, northern climate, and the blending of improving bloods. It has been facetiously said that the superiority of the leading nations of our times might be attributed to "gooseberries," which grow in their gardens, and which are peculiar to these northern nations. "Shall we, therefore, seriously attribute the brain-power to gooseberries? Safer not; safer, also, not to name the concurrence of alcoholic drinks with intellectual eminence as being anything more truly relevant. The fact is, that in the later ages of history the temperate zones have been the seats of the most energetic races — those felicitous physiological blendings which so powerfully conduce to personal vitality and pre-eminence, not to the alcohol they have drunk, is this race-superiority due; for, in fact, alcohol-drinking has been the greatest of all the drawbacks and deteriorating causes that have hitherto retarded the foremost races in the accomplishment of their manifest destiny of overrunning and ruling over the world. But for their weakening addiction to alcohol, we may safely say they might long since have been everywhere irresistible."

The theory in question is contrary to eminent medical testimony which is here presented: —

SIR WM. GULL, M.D., as a witness before the House of Lords Committee, gave the following evidence: —

Archbishop of York: Many people believe that intellectual work cannot be so well done without alcohol.

Sir W. Gull: There I should join issue at once.

Archbishop of York: You would deny that proposition?

Sir W. Gull: I should.

Archbishop of York: You would hold the very opposite?

Sir W. Gull: I should hold the opposite: all alcohol injures the nerve-tissue. You may quicken the operations, but you do not improve them.

Dr. Gull has also said: "If this agent does really for the moment cheer the weary, and impart a flush of transient pleasure to the unwearied, who crave for mirth, its influence (doubtful even in these moderate and modest degrees) is an infinitesimal advantage by the side of an infinity of evil, for which there is no compensation and no human cure."

DR. BENJ. W. RICHARDSON has said that "alcohol is a dangerous instrument in the hands of the strong and wise, even for men of the best and most brain-power;" and that "by the study of hard, scientific facts" he was driven "to the strictest total abstinence."

SIR HENRY THOMPSON, M.D., says that "the habitual use of alcoholic liquors, even far short of drunkenness, injures the body and diminishes the mental power to an extent few people are aware of."

We cannot resist the inquiry, If railroads and steamships need abstinence from alcoholic drinks among their employés in order to secure the safety and efficiency of the service, might not the high officials of the roads manage the business better, if their brains were kept clear from the influence of alcohol? A great corporation, serving the public as conveyers of passengers and freights, finds that its service is impaired by the toleration of drinking-habits among their employés. It has been well asked, "When will the greater corporations — the city, the state, the nation, learn this truth?" When railroads are adopting prohibition, and Governors are making it a condition of pardon, ought the State to hold out the temptation to drunkenness by licencing the sale of liquors, and put its citizens into a condition to be denied employment?

At a great meeting in Exeter Hall, London, July 17, 1882, Cardinal Manning eloquently said: "What are all our politics compared with this question? . . . We want a good helmsman at the wheel, and *we want a sober crew on board* (cheers) *and it is because I see that the great liquor traffic is not only making the crew unsteady, but*

making the helmsman's hand tremble at the wheel, that, therefore, I say, Let us put aside politics for a time, and come to social questions.

"It seems to me that it is time *men should understand this that while they are legislating, the foundations of society are sinking; and we know that a commonwealth which rests upon a demoralized foundation, is a house built upon the sand* (cheers). *And if there be one thing which demoralizes a people more rapidly than any other, it is that which makes the brains of men to reel, and the hearts of men to be passionate and inflamed, and the wills of men to be unsteady and weak, in the hour of temptation;* and when I know that intoxicating drink is doing all this, and that in the great centers of our industry, just there where the people are crowded together, where the national life is intensified, as it were, into a focus — when I know that there the evil is spreading itself with the greatest intensity, *I ask, what are we about? How is it that men who profess to be statesmen and politicians can waste their time and the time of the legislature before they take this subject in hand?* (Cheers.)"

III. THE THIRD COUNT,

Or the Ethical, alleges that the Traffic in Alcoholic Beverages is a Powerful Promoter of Immorality.

It is a matter of common observation that liquor-saloons are the prolific sources of idleness, violence, demoralization, and crime. They debauch the young, corrupt commerce, pollute politics, and jeopardize life. Men in their sober senses may sometimes commit crime, but the cases are rare; under the instigation of alcohol crimes multiply.

HON. B. GRATZ BROWN says: "Who ever heard of a saloon that refused to sell to minors? or observed the regulation-hours of closing? or that was not the scene of frequent broils, and, often, murders? or that hesitated to turn out-doors the man who had

been made drunk within doors? It would require an ever-vigilant police, ever intent on duty, and ever able to make distinctions beyond the power of ordinary men, to enforce such regulation. And if you succeeded, what would it all amount to, save a surface decency, while the web of vice and crime and seduction was woven still more industriously, and the morals of the community were compromised still more insidiously, by the protected traffic."

MR. RUSKIN, who has expended his energies and spent his fortune in behalf of the working-classes, says: "Drunkenness is not only the cause of crime, but it *is* a crime; and if any encourage drunkenness for the sake of the profit derived from the sale of drink, they are guilty of a form of moral assassination as criminal as any that has ever been practiced by the bravos of any country or of any age."

THOMAS CARLYLE, another great friend of the working-classes, called gin "the most authentic incarnation of the infernal principle yet discovered"—"one of those things of which all the products are, and only can be, bad, and ruinous, and destructive."

HON. RICHARD COBDEN said: "The temperance question lies at the basis of all social, all moral, and all political reform. The moral force of the masses lies in temperance. I have no faith in anything apart from that movement for the elevation of the working-classes. We do not sufficiently estimate the amount of crime, vice, poverty, ignorance, and destitution which springs from the drinking-habits of the people."

T. S. Arthur's "Ten Nights in a Bar-Room" vividly portrays the immoralities of the liquor-saloon.

It is a matter of testimony that, in 1876, Philadelphia was canvassed in respect to its saloons. Of 8,034 licensed places where intoxicants were sold, 3,782 were directly connected with houses of ill-fame, and more than two-thirds of all the liquor-sellers had been inmates of prisons and station-houses.

Eminent judges present severe testimony against the liquor traffic:—

JUSTICE FITZGERALD, at the Dublin Assizes (1878), says: "The crying and besetting crime of intemperance is a crime leading to all other crimes; a crime which you may very well say leads to nineteen twentieths of the crimes of this country."

BARON DOWSE, at Wicklow (1878), says: "If our people were more sober I think crime would almost entirely disappear from our midst." And in charging the jury in the Dublin Commission Court, November, 1881, the Baron said he found that drink was at the bottom of almost every crime committed in Dublin. *Even in cases that had no apparent connection with drink at all, if closely investigated, as he himself had done on many occasions, they would be found to have their origin in drink.*

JUSTICE DENHAM, in his charge at the Surrey Assizes, in 1882, says: "I don't know, in enforcing the considerations which are placed before the judges, as a part of their duty in the proclamation against vice and immorality, which has just been read, that any judge can better discharge his duty than by again and again calling the attention of the gentry of the country, as well as inhabitants generally, to this fact: that the great bulk — I might almost say the whole — of the offenses of violence which take place in the counties of this land are directly ascribable to the habit of drinking."

CHIEF-JUSTICE NOAH DAVIS, of the New York Supreme Court, says: "My twenty-nine years of experience as judge taught me that, of all the causes of sin and misery, of sorrow and woe, of pauperism and wretchedness, intoxicating liquor stands forth the unapproachable chief."

THE AUTHOR OF "TEN YEARS A POLICE-COURT JUDGE," over the *nom de plume* of Judge Wiglittle, testifies: "So true is it that rum and riot go thus hand in hand, that if one watches the course of crime a long time, he is all but ready to protest that there is no violence to law and order from intoxicating liquor apart. Directly, not seldom, but indirectly often, larcenies and burglaries, where the parties offending were sober, are found to be the efflux of a state of things induced by liquor. If the theft was inspired by poverty, the poverty was entailed by intemperance. If the burglar was sober in his act, the act was yet the offspring of inebriety. The propensities of the thief strikingly tie somehow to the training begotten of ardent spirit. Professional burglars and gamblers who go about their business with clear heads, and are sometimes, indeed, teetotalers, are men whose inclinations had origin under the corrupting influences of strong drink as a beverage. Their moral sense was destroyed by the canker of the evil example, and their audacity suckled by the revelries and bedevilments of drunkenness. Name a gambler whose associations are not with the grog-shop. Name a burglar who is not in confederacy with gamblers. How rare the murder that is not allied to the bottle! . . . A truly sober crime-committing man, woman, or child is an exception on the criminal calendar. I tseems to be the fatality of strong drink to betray its evil genius in some form, degree, manner, or color, in every violation of the penal code. The code, indeed, upon a view of its operations in respect of crimes *per se*, seems to be a contrivance of society purely for the purpose of protecting itself against the invasions of barbarous tribes warring under the demoniac sceptre of Bacchus."

THE GRAND JURY OF ST. LOUIS, in 1883, gave strong testimony against the saloons: "The grand jury now sitting desire to submit a special report upon one subject referred to them in your charge; to-wit, the city dramshops. We have taken a large amount of testimony in regard to the relation of these institutions, both to the expenditures and to the revenue of the city. The witnesses summoned were those who by their actual and necessary identification with these matters would give us the most indisputable facts and intelligent opinions thereunto concerning, as far removed as possible from mere assumption or prejudice. The concurrence of all

the witnesses in the main features of the testimony so taken has been equally surprising and convincing. It would be manifestly improper, and would serve no useful purpose, to quote the details of the testimony, but it has been abundantly shown us by incontestable proofs, that at least eighty per cent of the crime and pauperism of this city comes directly from the saloons, as effect follows cause; that in some cases the line of separation between the proprietors of these establishments and the desperate characters who infest them is so faint as to be almost unrecognized; that to them, as to their most congenial haunts, come the drones and leeches of society; that in many of them the hoodlum gangs concoct schemes by which idle youths, not yet criminals, are initiated into the ways of vice; that from some of the worst sally forth on their marauding mission the midnight bummers and burglars, who return in the small hours of the night, often with their booty, to the still open saloon, where they find a certain welcome and no inconsiderable measure of protection; that the cost of merely policing the lower grade of these dens, is manifold greater than the revenue derived from them in any shape, and this apart from their immensely preponderating contribution to the dire catalogue of crime and misery with which the social compact in St. Louis is burdened and afflicted."

But definite data has been filed in the case. In that interesting book, "Old World Questions and New World Answers," Mr. D. Pidgeon says, pp. 58, 59: "The temperance reformers of Europe have spent much eloquence and based much argument upon the more or less casual and scattered observations of private individuals in endeavoring to determine to what extent intemperance influences the commission of crime. What such advocates require to give force to their conclusions, is the strength of facts collected within given limits of space and time, and collected in a systematic manner. These are furnished in two remarkable reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1880–1881, which dealt at great length with the relations of crime and intemperance, presenting statistics of a kind which nothing short of a royal commission could procure in this country. It was thus, in the first place, shown that sixty per cent of all the crimes within the limits of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts during a period of twenty years, consisted of 'rum offenses,' drunkenness, illegal liquor-dealing, or liquor nuisances. When this fact had been established the bureau attacked the question of how far drink was concerned in the forty-per-cent balance of crime remaining unaccounted for after the inquiry. The investigation was long, and, from the nature of the case, a difficult one; but

there seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of its very remarkable conclusions. These, in half-a-dozen words, declare that 84 per cent of all the crime committed in the Commonwealth during the twenty-year period in question was caused, either directly or indirectly, by liquor. Only 16 crimes in every 100 committed by sober men! Well may the hard-headed statistician lose something of his judicial attitude in the closing words of his report on 'Intemperance and Crime.' 'These figures,' says Colonel Wright, 'paint a picture at once faithful and hideous of the power of rum; and this investigation, by revealing the disproportionate magnitude of offenses due, either directly or indirectly, to liquor, calls for earnest attention at the bar of public opinion and by the public conscience of this Commonwealth.'"

During the last week of 1883 and the first week of 1884, in only a part of the British newspapers were noticed the following "fruits" of the drink curse. I quote from the *Alliance News*:—

"12 drunken manslaughters or murders.
15 cases of drunken suicide completed.
18 cases of suicide attempted through drink.
94 premature, sudden, or violent deaths through drink.
20 drunken stabbings, cuttings, and woundings.
72 drunken assaults on constables.
72 assaults on women through drink.
5 cases of drunken cruelty to children.
62 drunken outrages and violent assaults.
13 cases of juvenile intoxication.
5 cases of drunken insanity.
13 robberies through drink.
25 perilous accidents through drink."

Total, 426 in two weeks, in only a part of the British newspapers, at the rate of 11,076 such offenses in a year.

In the State of Illinois are thirteen counties in which there are no licensed saloons. We give these counties, with their populations and criminals, and also thirteen other counties of equal population in

which saloons are licensed, with the number of criminals in the latter: —

THIRTEEN COUNTIES WITH NO SALOONS.

Cumberland	County,	with a	population of	13,762
Clay	"	"	"	16,095
Edwards	"	"	"	8,600
Fulton	"	"	"	41,247
Jasper	"	"	"	14,515
Johnson	"	"	"	13,079
Lawrence	"	"	"	13,663
Menard	"	"	"	13,028
Piatte	"	"	"	15,583
Schuyler	"	"	"	16,249
Warren	"	"	"	22,940
Wayne	"	"	"	21,297
Stark	"	"	"	11,209
			Total	221,370

They have had in a single year forty-eight prisoners, and of this number over one half have been arrested while under the influence of liquor purchased in counties that had saloons.

THIRTEEN COUNTIES HAVING SALOONS.

Boone	County,	with a	population of	11,527
Bond	"	"	"	14,873
Brown	"	"	"	13,044
Calhoun	"	"	"	7,471
Carroll	"	"	"	16,985
Cass	"	"	"	14,984
Clinton	"	"	"	18,718
Hardin	"	"	"	6,024
Massac	"	"	"	10,443
Ogle	"	"	"	29,940
Scott	"	"	"	10,745
Wabash	"	"	"	9,945
Will	"	"	"	53,431
			Total	217,579

Number of saloons in these counties, 293; number of prisoners, 801, — making a difference of 753 prisoners in favor of counties having saloons (more than 90 per cent). There have been in 101 jails in Illinois in a single year, 9,947 prisoners, and over 8,000 came up from the saloons, the place where crime is manufactured. Add to this nearly 50,000 that have been arrested for drunkenness.

What a contrast! "Clay County, with a population of nearly 17,000, has no temperance lectures, no saloons in the county, no prisoners, no murders, or thefts, in the year."

Edwards County has a population of 8,600, and for more than 25 years has had no saloons, and in all that time has sent only one person to the penitentiary, and that was for a crime committed under the influence of liquor purchased in a neighboring county.

Much is said of the moral condition of Germany — that its beer is promotive of good morals, etc. We ask attention to what a competent witness has said within two years: —

PROF. SCOTT, of Chicago, who has had extensive opportunity for observation in Germany, is reported as saying: "Germany is probably sinking in crime and immorality more rapidly than any other nation in Europe. In some of the cities half the births are illegitimate. In ten years, saloons have increased by fifty per cent, and the people are fast becoming sodden with their beer-drinking."

A terrible testimony against the liquor saloons comes from the inmates of a Pennsylvania penitentiary. "It is announced that the inmates of the Allegheny County (Pa.) Workhouse have petitioned the Legislature for the suppression of the liquor traffic, because it has been the cause of their downfall, and would prevent their reformation if released from confinement. Such a petition ought to be heard and heeded. The State owes to such people, largely the victims of the legalized liquor traffic, protection for the future. The open dramshop is the door through which thousands enter prison life, and through which many return to it again and again. As the Allegheny prisoners pray, let that door be closed."

IV. THE FOURTH COUNT,

Or the Economic, alleges that the Liquor Traffic Wastes the Resources of the People, and Militates against Private, Social, and Political Economy.

The advocates of the liquor traffic contend that it pays large sums of money into the public treasury, and contributes to the public wealth. They specify the United States Government license taxes, the large capital employed, the numerous employés to whom it affords support, the thousands of acres of land devoted to the production of the grain out of which the liquor is manufactured, the extensive lumber and cooperage for casks, the rentage of buildings for the wholesale and retail of liquor, etc.

It is in evidence that during twenty years (1862–1882) in the United States, the taxes and license fees paid to the general Government by the manufacturers and dealers in alcoholic liquors, were: —

On Distilled Spirits	$904,863,687
On Malt Liquors	163,130,919
Total	$1,067,994,606

These figures have been paraded in glowing language by the liquor fraternity, as though they were sufficient to procure for them an immunity and justification in their business; and they probably represent only a small part of the money paid out by the manufacturers and dealers which should be credited to the traffic, such as rents, wages, for local license fees, for casks and other furnishings, for grain, etc.

In the absence of exact data we can afford to be generous in our estimates, and allow that the liquor business pays a very large amount into the general funds of society,—say five times as much as the figures already given, that would amount to $5,339,973,030 in the twenty years (1862–1882). This is certainly a liberal estimate.

Then the question has been raised, What has the liquor cost the consumers? About ten years ago, Dr. Hargreaves, after very careful and extensive inquiries, computed the yearly cost for alcoholic liquors, in the United States to be about $750,000,000 annually. The amount has much increased since that time, owing to the increase of the population and the larger consumption of beer, and has been estimated by the New York *Tribune* and others at $900,000,000 annually. It is presumed that a fair average for the twelve years (1870–1882) would be about $860,000,000 annually, or a total of $10,320,000,000. For the eight years 1862 to 1870, $700,000,000 annually would be a fair amount — a total of $5,600,000,000 affording an aggregate for twenty years of $15,920,000,000; say, in round numbers, sixteen billions of dollars. All this is only the *direct* cost. To this should be added the indirect cost, occasioned by the use of these liquors, from idleness, unthrift, pauperism, insanity, accidents, waste, crime and its costs, extra police, courts, etc.— often estimated by careful, discriminating minds at as much more, giving $32,000,000 in twenty years. In this large amount are not included the vast tides of misery, squalor, suffering, disorder, etc., and the unutterable perdition account.

The actual receipts of the United States Government from the liquor fraternity, in the same period, were not one thirtieth as large as the cost of these liquors to the people of the country, leaving out of the account an untold amount of misery and demoralization which only eternity can compute.

If this vast expenditure could be accepted as representing a corresponding improvement or advantage, physical, mental, moral, or financial, to the American people, we might be content; but we all know it is far otherwise,— that the liquor traffic impoverishes and demoralizes society.

Does some one say the grain, hops, etc., used in the manufacture of liquor is a great advantage to the farmers — a source of wealth? that the barrels used for the liquor helps the lumber dealers, the coopers, etc.? that the manufacturers of the liquors afford employment to a large number of laborers, etc.?

All are familiar with the old farmer's reply to Hon. Mr. Voorhes, of Indiana. When Mr. V—— asked his audience what the farmers would do if the distillers and brewers should cease to buy grain for the manufacture of liquor, an old farmer replied, "We will raise more pork and less hell."

It has also been argued that the large acreage devoted to grain for liquor might be more profitably devoted to other useful crops, wheat, etc., and the cooperage to barrels for flour, etc. Men whose stomachs have suffered from the stimulus and distension of alcoholic liquors have used less food. They will eat more, when they settle down to total abstinence, and be in a healthier condition. Then the market for substantial food will increase. In twenty-one years (1862-1883), 188,414,793 barrels of beer were manufactured in this country. At the usual rate of computation, these have required 19,406,723 acres of barley and hops. At 20 bushels per acre they would have produced 388,134,460 bushels of wheat (equal to all the wheat raised in a single year in Germany, Spain, and Italy), and at $1.25 per bushel it would amount to $485,168,075.

Taking Baron Liebig's estimate (2 gallons best beer equal to one-third of an ounce of wheat flour), and the 188,414,793 barrels of beer contain nutriment equal to only 300,406 barrels of flour, which at $8 per barrel (the average price, at retail, for good table flour, during the last ten years) is equal to $2,403,248. But the wheat raised and sold would amount to $485,168,975, or 200 times as much. But the beer cost the consumers, as usually sold (at 50 cents a gallon, as sold by the quart, gallon, or case, and 5 cents a glass, when sold by the drink), $4,891,818,075, or 2,039 times as much as its equivalent is worth in flour.

If these malt liquors represented physical or moral improvement in the American people, or an advance in true temperance and moderation, we might be content; but, on the other hand, it is one of the saddest phases of American life that beer has come so extensively into use during the last thirty years. How many youths have been debauched by beer! How many American cities and villages have

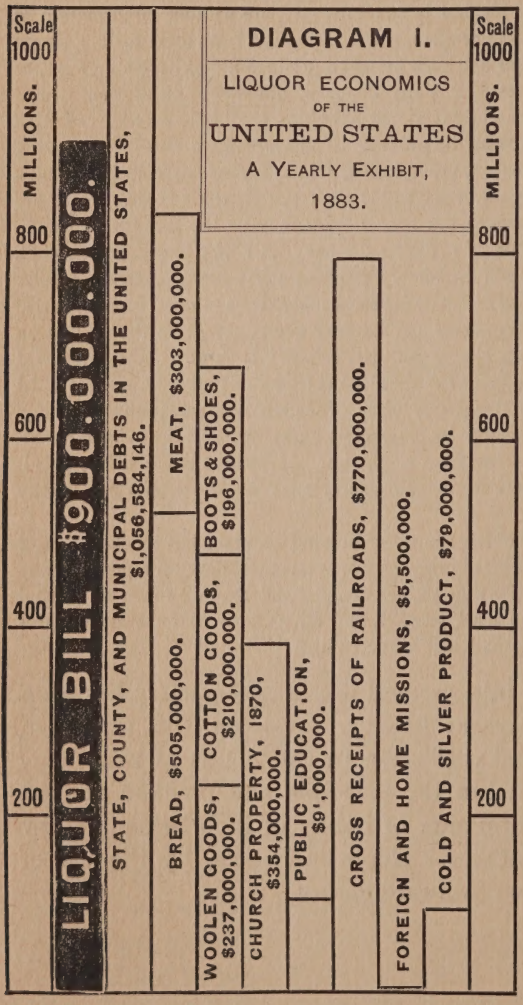
taken steps backward toward the lower conditions of European life!

THE "QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF INEBRIETY" says that "the theory that malt liquors contain a large amount of nutriment, and that the bitter possesses some medicinal quality which neutralizes the alcohol it conceals, etc., are without confirmation in the observations of physicians and chemists, where either has been used for any length of time. The constant use of beer has been found to produce a degeneration of all the organisms, profound and deep-seated. Fatty deposits, diminished circulation, conditions of congestion, and perversion of functional activities, local inflammations of both the liver and the kidneys, are constantly present. Intellectually, a stupor amounting almost to paralysis arrests the reason, precipitating all the higher faculties into a mere animalism, sensual, selfish, sluggish, varied only with paroxysms of anger that are senseless and brutal. In appearance the beer-drinker may be the picture of health, but in reality he is most incapable of resisting disease. A slight injury, severe cold, or shock to the body or mind, will commonly provoke acute disease, ending fatally. Compared with inebriates who use different forms of alcohol, he is more incurable, and more generally diseased. The constant use of beer every day gives the system no time for recuperation, but steadily lowers the vital forces. It is our observation that beer-drinking in this country produces the very lowest forms of inebriety, closely allied to criminal insanity. The most dangerous class of tramps and ruffians in our large cities are beer-drinkers. It is asserted by competent authority, that the evils of heredity are more positive in this class than from alcoholics. If these facts are well founded, the recourse to beer as a substitute for alcohol merely increases the danger and fatality following.

"In bitters we have a drink which can never become general; but its chief danger will be in strengthening the disordered cravings which later will develop a positive disease. Public sentiment and legislation should comprehend that all forms of alcohol are more or less dangerous when used steadily, and all persons who use them in this way should come under sanitary and legislative control."

The introduction of beer into general use in this country has been a costly experiment in American history, involving the nation in untold woes. It has produced vacillation in the minds of many persons heretofore well established in the principle and practice of total abstinence, and led to the formation of habits of inebriation. Many youth have formed an appetite for alcoholic liquors, by the use of beer, and have started upon a downward career.

The following DIAGRAMS will impressively exhibit the Liquor Economics of the United States, the first page for a single year (1883), and the second for ninety years.



EXPLANATIONS.

1. The statistics on this page are all for one year.

2. The amount, $900,000,000, is not excessive, but is fully justified, by the best inquiries, as the sum which it cost the consumers, who buy at retail.

3. Careful students who have considered the question compute the indirect cost as equal to the direct cost, comprising, as it does, loss of labor and time, destruction of property on sea and land, theft, bankruptcies, crime, pauperism, sickness, insanity, vagrancy, non-production, etc., etc., occasioned through alcoholic drinks. On such a basis the annual cost of drink, direct and indirect, is $1,800,000,000.

4. See "Size of the Temperance Question," *New York Tribune;* Diagram in the *Christian Union*, March 27, 1884; and the "LIQUOR PROBLEM IN ALL AGES," by the author of this document, Phillips & Hunt, New York City, 1884, pp. 625–630.

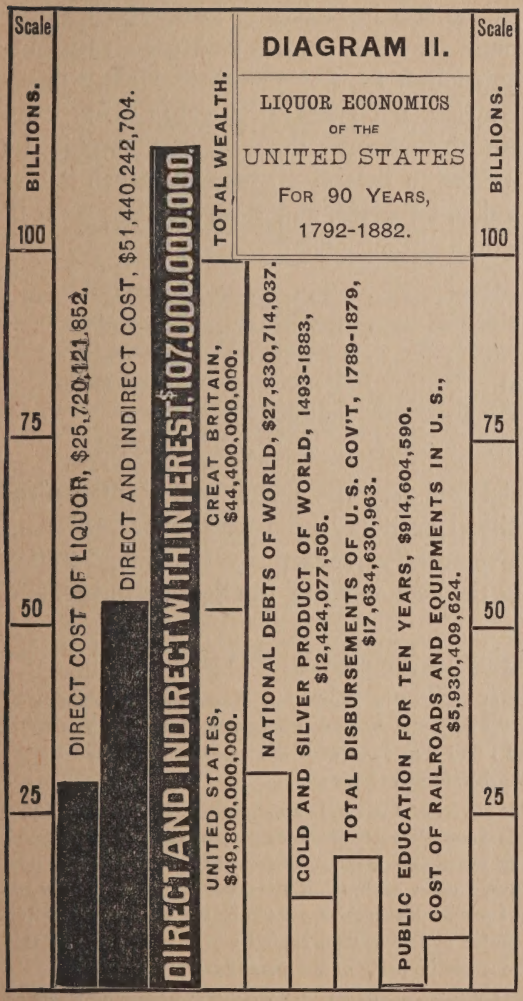


DIAGRAM II.
LIQUOR ECONOMICS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR 90 YEARS, 1792-1882.
Scale
BILLIONS.
100
75
50
25
DIRECT COST OF LIQUOR, $25,720,121,852.
DIRECT AND INDIRECT COST, $51,440,242,704.
DIRECT AND INDIRECT WITH INTEREST, $107,000,000,000.
TOTAL WEALTH.
UNITED STATES, $49,800,000,000.
GREAT BRITAIN, $44,400,000,000.
NATIONAL DEBTS OF WORLD, $27,830,714,037.
COLD AND SILVER PRODUCT OF WORLD, 1493-1883, $12,424,077,505.
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF U. S. GOV'T, 1789-1879, $17,634,630,963.
PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR TEN YEARS, $914,604,590.
COST OF RAILROADS AND EQUIPMENTS IN U. S., $5,930,409,624.

EXPLANATIONS.

1. These statistics of the cost of liquor are approximations, made with care and discrimination, and sufficiently accurate to be a basis of comparison.

2. The interest added is only simple interest, at 5 per cent.

3. Mr. Mulhall is the authority for the estimates of national wealth.

4. The statistics of gold and silver products, national debts, cost of railroads, government expenses, etc., were taken from the American Almanac for 1884.

5. One hundred and seven billion dollars, if put into one dollar bills, would make a belt one hundred and eighteen and a half feet wide extending around the globe. If divided among the people of the United States, it would give more than $2,000 to every man, woman, and child; to every family of five persons, more than $10,000.

6. The cost of liquor is the reason why so many laboring-men have a hard time; why so many homes are destitute of comforts, and the jails and almshouses are full.

7. No figures can estimate the misery caused by alcoholic liquors.

The produce used in making the alcoholic liquors consumed annually in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has been computed to be equal to 73,000,000 bushels of wheat, which would make 1,100,000,000 four-pound loaves of bread, and give 150 four-pound loaves to every family, enough for four months. Used as paving-stones, they would pave a road ten yards wide, 1,900 miles long. If this amount of grain were thrown into the sea, men would be horrified. But how much better to destroy it, than to "turn it into a maddening liquor which ruins, imbrutes, and destroys the people!" What does the United Kingdom get out of it?

Paupers, aided more or less	3,500,000
Paupers, permanently aided	1,011,389
Lunatics	96,000
Drunkards apprehended	310,000
Premature deaths caused directly or indirectly by alcohol	120,000

Cannot political economists see how the liquor traffic antagonizes society? The soundest political economy calls for the protection of society against the oppressive taxation caused by the liquor traffic. Intelligent men are studying the economies of the liquor scourge, and are moving against it.

We ask attention to weighty testimonies on this subject.

A TAX-PAYER'S testimony: A liquor-dealer in Worcester, Mass., was complaining of the oppression of prohibition. "I have just paid my taxes, $600, on my city property," said a gentleman in reply, "and I find that $450 of it is caused by the liquor traffic. But I suppose I have no rights. Rum-sellers have all."

HON. ELIZUR WRIGHT, an able statist of Boston, in an address in New York City, a few years ago, said: "The time is coming when temperance people everywhere will claim exemption from certain kinds of taxation — taxation under which the consumer now suffers, but which should be thrown upon capital. If the great tax which is now required to support charitable and pauper institutions, should be put upon that portion of the population which is supported by liquor, then capital would retreat. And this ought to be a direct tax upon the whole property of the manufacturers of liquor."

A NEW YORK EDITOR made the following comment: "Sensitive as property-owners as a rule are to undue taxation, it is surprising that ere this there has not been a general rebellion against the enormous, needless taxation imposed by the liquor traffic upon the

property of the whole country. If the liquor traffic is to go on, some system of direct taxation should be devised, whereby the capital employed in it for the sake of gain should be made to bear its legitimate proportion of the burdens which accrue from strong drink. When that is done, the liquor traffic will cease to be profitable, and capital will withdraw from it. It is profitable now to a small oligarchy of liquor-makers and venders, because the crime, pauperism, and the general injury for which it is responsible, the property of the whole community is taxed to pay for. The revenue tax and paltry license fee constitute but the merest fraction of the amount which liquor-dealers ought to be compelled to pay while their 'business' is tolerated and protected by the State."

The liquor problem is receiving thoughtful consideration from able periodicals, representative statesmen, etc.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, not long ago, said: "We must, as a nation, be sober and honest. *Our drinking-customs are our greatest 'rock ahead,'* not only morally, but also socially and commercially. . . . The loss to the country through the physical and mental ruin and premature death of thousands of victims of the liquor traffic every year can never be estimated." He adds: "The lack of sobriety among our artisans, with whom steady hands and clear heads are essential to the execution of the best work, will tell against us with increasing power as foreign competition becomes keener; and the loss of time inseparable from drinking-habits is becoming an item in the cost of our manufactures even more serious than any probable increase of wages or reduction of hours of labor. *If we mean to maintain our position before the world, we must turn our backs on the liquor traffic.*"

MR. JOHN MORLEY, M. P., in the *Daily News*, London, said: "No dispassionate observer can fail to be impressed by the extent and the force of the tendency which, at the present day, is compelling governments to impose penal impediments upon the liquor traffic. From Kansas to New South Wales, from Ireland to Iowa, this movement in self-governed communities has long been known to be gaining strength. Before the century closes, legislation will have made much greater advances toward the deliverance of society from this curse."

DR. FELIX OSWALD, in an article on the "Drink Problem" in the *International Review*, said: "Last year, while famine was raging in Ireland and in Eastern Brazil, and thousands of men were dying in Persia, Armenia, Syria, and Cashmere for want of bread, nearly four hundred million tons of breadstuffs were converted into intoxicants, to become a curse instead of a blessing. In England and Scotland alone, half a billion bushels of cereals have been consumed in the production of alcoholic drinks, and in Russia, Denmark, and Austria, from one fifth to one fourth of the grain crop is annually used for the same purpose."

SIR LEONARD TILLEY, the able Minister of Finance in Canada, said in the House of Commons, in Ottawa: "The loss of revenue which would result from the enforcement of a prohibitory law I regard as but a feather-weight in the argument. We might

give up the revenue to-morrow, and if I thought the country was ready I would be only too happy as Finance Minister to devise ways and means to make the loss good."

THE RT.-HON. SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, M. P., when Chancellor of the English Exchequer, said: "I ask again, under what circumstances could it be expected that the consumption of spirits in this country would fall off to such an extent as seriously to injure the revenue? It must be from one of two causes — either from some general failure of the consuming power of the people,— from some failure in their ability to purchase spirits, the will remaining as it was,— or from some great change in the habits of the people, inducing them to abandon the use of such enormous quantities of ardent spirits. If it were the former, it would tell upon all the sources of revenue, just as well as upon that derived from spirits. But if the reduction of the revenue derived from spirits be due to the other cause, if it should be due to a material and considerable change in the habits of the people, and increasing habits of temperance and abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, I venture to say that the amount of wealth such a change would bring to the nation would utterly throw into the shade the amount of revenue that is now derived from the spirit duty; and we should not only see with satisfaction a diminution of the revenue from such a cause, but we should find in various ways that the Exchequer would not suffer from the losses which it might sustain in that direction." — *April* 16, 1874.

HON. JOHN BRIGHT said: "If for five years England would give up the use of drink, at the end of that time she would be such a paradise that you would hardly know the country again."

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, speaking of pauperism in England, recently said: "It is impossible, absolutely impossible to do anything to permanently or considerably relieve this poverty, until we have got rid of this curse of drink."

HON. JOHN D. LONG, in the debate on the Whiskey Bill in the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., in March, 1884, said: "I hear it said that this interest has paid a thousand million into the public treasury; that it has supported our armies; that it has paid our debts; that it has maintained our Government; but, sir, it has not paid one cent. Whiskey has never paid a dollar. The people it is, who, out of the earnings of their toil, have paid millions for it and its curses. If a thousand million dollars have gone into the public treasury, whiskey has been only the rotten bridge over which it has passed. Contributed to the public welfare! It is rather *the dynamite of civilization;* and when you reckon, as you do, the billions by which you measure its production and cost, you are reckoning not any addition to the public welfare, but you are reckoning the extent of the public and national ruin, waste, and poverty. There you may look for loss, and panic, and bankruptcy, and not to that *bagatelle* of a few million dollars that is about to be transferred from the books of the Government to the books of some private bank."

"THE CATHOLIC WORLD" (New York City) said: "Is it wonderful that so many call for a constitutional provision? Personal, private efforts, appeals from the pulpit,

and the example of societies, can do something to save individuals: but on this vast and bloated trade, as it exists in our day, these influences fall like a dust of confetti thrown from the windows on a riotous carnival below. It calls for the giant power of the State, and *the State is bound to protect us. Weighed side by side with this intolerable evil, the commercial interest of liquor-makers and liquor-venders swings like a feather in the scale.* And since in this country the law-making power is vested in the people, with the consequent responsibility, let every citizen take his conscience in his hands when he goes to the polls. Let him ask himself if this cause does not lift itself high above every question of party politics. Let him see that he helps to put into office no hireling of the trade, nor any one who cannot be counted on to sustain wholesome laws restraining it."

Is it asked, Are there not, after all, very considerable benefits which accrue to society, dietetic, medicinal, mechanical, etc., from alcohol?

Upon this point, we introduce the testimony of eminent medical experts.

SIR JOHN BURDON SANDERSON, M.D., Professor of Physiology in University College, London, under examination before the House of Lords Investigating Committee (Question 9,398), said: "My belief is, that, upon the whole, the human race would be situated just as favorably if the use of alcohol did not exist. I think that for two reasons: in the first place, because the evils preponderate over the benefits — that is certainly one reason; and the other consideration is, simply, that all the benefits are dispensable benefits."

SIR WM. GULL, M.D., as already quoted, has said: "If this agent (alcohol) does really, for the moment, cheer the weary, and impart a flush of transient pleasure to those who crave for mirth, its influence (doubtful even in these moderate and modest degrees) is an infinitesimal advantage, by the side of an infinity of evil, for which there is no compensation, and no human cure."

REV. CANON FARRAR quotes a Chinese tradition which tells that four thousand years ago, the Emperor of China was much troubled with the wretchedness and destitution of his people, many thousands of whom lived amid scenes of squalor and brutishness. At length he became most anxious to do something to relieve the "bitter cry" of miserable and outcast China. All at once he recognized that the bad habits of his people had much to do with the bad habitations in which they were existing. The Emperor, by a wise act of authority, with a stroke of his pen closed up every liquor-shop in China; and the tradition records that for three days the heavens rained gold. For three days the shower of gold continued, and the people, being sober, were able to gather in the rich harvest of the bountiful skies. He then adds: "Considering that there is hardly a pauper in England who has not wasted on intoxicants enough to have secured him long ago a freehold house and a good annuity, I say that if the curse of drink were thoroughly expelled, it would rain gold in England, not for three days, but for many days."

V. THE FIFTH COUNT,

Or the Governmental, alleges that the Liquor Traffic is inimical to Good Government, the Generator of Crime and Disorder, and even combines for the subjugation of Government and the control of legislation to subserve its own evil ends.

Distinguished witnesses testify that the inevitable tendency of the liquor traffic is to crime and disorder.

CHIEF JUSTICE COLERIDGE, of England, said: "I can keep no terms with a vice that fills our jails — that destroys the comfort of homes and the peace of families, and debases and brutalizes the people of these islands." Mr. Coleridge also said, "Could we make England sober, we could do away with nine tenths of our prisons."

MR. JUSTICE FITZGERALD of England, said: "It has been the habit of judges on the bench, and of speakers on public platforms, to address very wise observations to the public as to the crying and besetting crime of intemperance — a crime leading to nearly all other crimes — a crime which they might very well say led to nineteen twentieths of the crimes in this country."

THOMAS JEFFERSON said: "The habit of indulging in ardent spirits by men in office has occasioned more injury to the public than all other causes: and were I to commence my administration again, with the experience I now have, the first question I would ask respecting a candidate would be, Does he use ardent spirits?"

"Sir William Harcourt hit the nail on the head when he stated that 'one of the greatest and most fertile sources of crime has been, and still is, indulgence in strong drinks.' At a recent assizes in Manchester, Lord Justice Coleridge stated that 'all the cases that had come before him, with one exception, had their beginning or ending in drink.' The facts of our criminal calendar prove that both the Home Secretary and the Lord Chief Justice have 'spotted' the cause of the greater portion of our crime. The figures in the following table prove the facts stated by Sir William Harcourt and Lord Coleridge beyond the possibility of cavil.

"TABLE SHOWING THE CONSUMPTION OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, ALSO THE INTEMPERANCE AND CRIME* OF THE COUNTRY, FOR THE YEAR 1860, AND FOR EACH OF THE SIX YEARS ENDING 1879:—

	Money expended upon Intoxicating Liquors.	Cases of Drunkenness.	Total Convictions for crime.	Assaults.	Indictable Offenses against the Person.
1860	£84,222,172	88,361	255,803	86,444	1,802
1874	141,342,997	185,730	486,786	123,819	2,332
1875	142,876,669	203,989	512,425	122,913	2,702
1876	147,288,759	205,567	526,915	122,441	2,725
1877	142,007,231	200,184	519,839	115,314	2,495
1878	142,188,900	194,549	538,232	111,876	2,347
1879	128,143,864	178,429	506,281	99,093	2,149

"On comparing the figures in the above table for the year 1876 with those for 1860, it will be seen that there was an increase in the consumption of intoxicating liquors of 75 per cent, in apprehensions for drunkenness of 132 per cent, in the aggregate convictions for crime before magistrates of 106 per cent, in cases of assault of 41 per cent, and in the grosser crimes, viz., indictable offenses against the person, an increase of 51 per cent, although the population had only grown 22 per cent.

"If the figures for 1879 be compared with those for 1876, it will be seen that the amount of intoxicating liquors consumed during the latter year had decreased 13 per cent as compared with the former, cases of drunkenness decreased 13 per cent, the total convictions for crime 4 per cent, assaults 15 per cent, and the grosser crimes, viz., indictable offenses against the person, 22 per cent."

Abundant evidence exists showing that the liquor traffic directly sets at defiance the laws of the land. It has always fought against the prohibitory laws, and clandestinely continued its illegal business, complaining that such laws violate personal rights, and are oppressive.

Liquor dealers have never been loyal even to the license system,

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* The crime relates only to England and Wales. The drink-expenditure covers the United Kingdom, but the greatest increase would be in England and Wales.

but liquors have been extensively sold in all the license States by men without license. In Boston, by the confession of high city officials, half as many more sell without license as with license. Nor is Boston a solitary exception. Nor have liquor licensees ever anywhere respected the terms of their licenses, but have sold to minors and drunkards, in forbidden hours, and on Sundays. The lawlessness of the liquor traffic, and even of those whose duty it is to enforce the liquor laws, has become so notorious that nothing but disloyalty to law is now expected of the liquor fraternity. The exceptions are not enough to modify the charge.

A BOSTON NEWSPAPER, the *Press*, gives some details which will demonstrate the truth of this charge: "The 'good moral character' requirement long ago became a dead letter. Open and persistent violation of law, as shown by the court records, is no bar to receiving a first-class license. Criminals repeatedly convicted, fined and imprisoned, are licensed in face of strong remonstrances of citizens. We select from a large number of cases a few that are fairly representative.

"J. K—— is the licensed proprietor of the "P. G. Exchange," 95 P—— Street. A complaint was made against the proprietor for maintaining screens. Ten or a dozen police officers appeared before the board of Police Commissioners as witnesses for K——. A hearing was ordered, but no action taken. Another complaint was made that this place was kept open after twelve o'clock at night, in violation of law, on a particular evening. A hearing was had, but no action taken. The two cases were taken to the criminal court, and tried before Judge McC —— upon the same evidence that was presented before the Board of Police Commissioners, and he was convicted upon both complaints. He appealed, and the District Attorney *nol prossed* the cases. It appeared in evidence from his own witnesses that when, upon some occasions, the police have made K—— close up at twelve o'clock down stairs, he would take his liquors and the crowd that was in his saloon into a room above, and keep open until morning. Well knowing this man and the place he keeps, the Board of Police Commissioners have again licensed him, not only on P—— Street but at another place on K—— Street.

"The M—— House, at the corner of D—— and W—— Streets, had a first-class victualler's license, which does not allow the sale of liquor on Sunday. The Law and Order League prosecuted the proprietor of this place eight or nine times during the year. He was convicted every time, and as often appealed. The District Attorney kindly settled his cases, and he was allowed to go on with his business. The Commissioners were urged to revoke his license, but did not. In the face of all this, we find the proprietor of the M—— House has a new license: of course he secures two "respectable" men as his bondsmen.

"T—— D. McE——, No. 1 B—— Street, has been prosecuted eight times in

less than a year for selling on Sunday. In one case the District Attorney induced him to plead *nolo contendere*, and pay a fine of fifty dollars and costs. The Board of Police Commissioners could not very well give him a license this year, so they did the next best thing — licensed his brother; and the house is still kept open seven days in the week."

Said a liquor-dealer from one of the cities that voted No-license: "I shall do just as I have done. Law is of no account in this country — and I believe the No-license system the cheaper one for us."

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE (1883) said: "During the last eight years the police-justices of this city have sent to the General Sessions for trial over 13,000 excise cases. Very few of these complaints have ever been tried, and unless a *nolle prosequi* has been entered in most of them by the present District Attorney, there must be over 10,000 such cases still in his pigeon-holes."

The *Tribune* also said that "800 arrests were made for selling liquor without a of license," last year, "with no convictions."

HON. EMORY A. STORRS, of Chicago, in December, 1883, delivered a lecture in Chicago on Municipal Government. The *Advance* says: "It was a splendid lecture, and called attention to the fact that one of the greatest weaknesses in our republic is that we cannot govern our cities. He pointed out the increase of crime, and gambling, and licentiousness, and so held up growing evils in their true light as to make his audience shudder. He showed that our police force is inadequate; he showed that corrupt, and packed, and ignorant juries often bring the whole system into shame and contempt, and defeat the ends of justice. Then he turned his attention to what he considered our greatest danger; and, strange to say, Mr. Storrs is squarely with the Prohibitionists and temperance people in spite of himself. Of the four thousand saloons in Chicago, he says many of them are in the hands of bad men and women, and charges that they are maintained by thieves and gamblers for dens of prostitution, highwaymen, and general criminals. * * * * *
He said the saloons hold the same relation to the penitentiary that the Sunday-school does to the church. He called attention to the fact that the right to sell liquor is not a natural, inalienable, heaven-born right, and that our ordinances provide for the issuance of such license to people of 'good character.' But what are the facts? How many people of good character does one suppose there are in Chicago selling liquor?

"Mr. Storrs asserts that there are not less than five hundred places holding saloon licenses in this city which are nothing more than places of prostitution. He says this is simply horrible, and calls loudly for correction. Nothing so thoroughly enforces a general proposition as a few individual instances. Here are some: A man was arrested and brought before the West Side Police Court charged with being a vagrant, and by testimony of the officers was proved a thief, and an associate of disreputable men and women,— a bad character generally. What did the man do? He simply drew from his pocket a license as a saloon-keeper, and produced it as a certificate of good character! The city could not go behind its own indorsement.

"On R—— Street a saloon is in the hands of a woman to whom a license is regularly issued by this city, and from whose den, but a short time since, two girls only thirteen years of age were taken, who had been decoyed there for their ruin. This infamous procuress held a license, from the authorities of this city, of 'good, moral character.' She carries on her business with the indorsement of our city officials."

Some time ago the New York police put forth cautious and feeble efforts to compel the liquor-dealers to *obey the laws.* The saloon-keepers regarded it as an impertinence, a blow at personal liberty, and combined in an organization of 11,000 liquor-dealers and manufacturers, and their 18,000 employés in that city to elect a mayor, district attorney, etc., and to show the Commissioners how powerless they were.

Father O'Connor, President of the Union at East Newark, N. J., having determined to stop, to some extent, at least, the audacious operations of the rum-sellers, who have made it a practice to utterly disregard all the laws limiting their hours or manner of doing business, recently called them together in a public meeting, and submitted a pledge for their signature. It bound them not to sell to minors, to do away with pool, and keep their places closed on Sunday, except from one to six, P. M. This was contemptuously refused, and Father O'Connor now says he will not only forbid his congregation patronizing these men, but he will take the lead in prosecuting every violation of the law. The temperance societies and Protestant ministers are supporting Father O'Connor with hearty unanimity.

It is well known that mobs have their centers in dram-shops. How often has the frenzy of alcohol occasioned wars and revolutions. Mr. Albert Lamar, Secretary of the "Confederate Congress," relating the inside history of the secession of Georgia, shows how, through the influence of strong drink, the powerful efforts of Hon. Herschel V. Johnson to prevent secession were thwarted. Mr. Lamar says: "He was the most powerful speaker in our State when he could get fully enlisted and stirred up. He made a speech, that day, in January, 1861, before the Milledgeville convention, which was the noblest effort of his life. We felt the temple of our creation falling around our heads. It became necessary to break up the line of that tremendous speech, and we proposed an adjournment, conceding that Johnson should go on after din-

ner. It was then resolved to give him a dram that would break his command over his topic. There was some old brandy at the hotel, and I made a toddy of it without water, very palatable, very tremendous. He drank it, and when we met again he could not go on. His memory was weak, his words ran together, the convention got to laughing at him, and Toombs carried it by storm."

Thus did alcohol master a strong man whose arguments could not be as successfully resisted and overcome in any other way, and a State was precipitated into a bloody, futile conflict.

It is also in evidence that the liquor traffic attempts to dominate politics, and largely succeeds. It is said, "Cincinnati is controlled by 2,000 saloons, and officers are elected with the understanding that they will not enforce the law." The same is true of many other cities; they are at the mercy of high-handed outlaws called saloon-keepers. One of the Police Commissioners of Boston, who grant all the licenses and control the police force of the city, it is said, has a personal interest in the liquor traffic. The City Central Committee of one of the political parties which largely controls Boston politics, has in its membership 74 liquor-dealers. A large number of liquor-dealers have been, and probably still are, members of the Common Council. Surely "the rum-seller's hand is in the tax-payer's pocket."

Two years ago the "Whiskey Ring" made a quiet but determined effort to control the election of Senators in Minnesota, Illinois, Michigan, and other States.

A WRITER IN THE "INTER OCEAN" (Chicago) said: "You are puzzled at the opposition to Senator Windom. Perhaps if you recall his speech against the bonded whiskey bill, you may get a hint at the reason. There is a power, to which I invite your attention, which took off St. John's official head in Kansas, which is assuming the rule of dictator, and, while not showing its hand very clearly, strikes at every man who dares oppose it."

Again: "The policy of the whiskey-bill men is not only unwarranted and inexcusable, but short-sighted in the extreme. They are inviting their own destruction, digging graves for the men they have put forward as figure-heads, and pushing the leaders, on whom they are making war, into wider popularity."

Last year the brewers exerted their utmost power for the re-election of Carter Harrison as Mayor of Chicago.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE said: "It has been discovered that the brewers who make beer in this State have entered into a combination, and subscribed large sums of money for the purpose of electing a sufficient number of the members of the next Legislature to secure the repeal of the Harper High-License Act, and the election of Harrison for Governor. Agents have been employed to push this work secretly. One of the emissaries 'gave the whole thing away' to a Nashville saloon-keeper who was not prepared to support Carter Harrison for Governor."

Mr. Louis Schade has been kept in employ, at Washington, D. C., for several years, by the Brewers' Congress, to watch over and promote their interests. He makes his annual report to the Congress.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, commenting on his report in 1883, said: "Mr. Schade, who is a familiar figure in the corridors of the national Capitol, reported to his employers that he had made it his business, whenever a State Legislature was about to pass prohibitory amendments, 'to see' the Senators and Representatives from that State, and induce them, if possible, to interfere in behalf of the brewers' interests. With pride that was pardonable, perhaps, under the circumstances, he assured the brewers that the defeat of prohibitory amendments in West Virginia, Delaware, Missouri, Texas, Arkansas, Maryland, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and other States had been caused by the direct interference of those Senators and Representatives whom he had seen. Reports of the convention's proceedings do not show that the brewers were shocked by Mr. Schade's description of his labors."

It is also the boast of the brewers that they have defeated candidates for re-election to Congress, because they favored the bill for a Commission of Inquiry.

A few years ago the Legislatures of Missouri and West Virginia were favorably inclined toward constitutional prohibition, and came near sending the measure to the people. This occasioned the Washington *Sentinel*, the liquor organ, great uneasiness, and led it to appeal to members of Congress to exert their influence to defeat the measure. Two years ago the *Retailer*, a New York liquor organ, expressed great gratification at the successful efforts of a deputation from the "Wine and Liquor Dealers' Protective Union" to Mayor Edson, for securing the appointment by the mayor of a German police-justice, "Who is fully aware of the wants of his German fellow-citizens *in the trade in beverages*." It said: "Retailers of beverages should not forget the good example of Mr. Hillen and his associates. They should not hesitate

to send committees to the mayor, or any other official, whenever they believe that their interests will be served by doing so. *They wield a potent influence, for good or evil, in politics, and they should not hesitate about letting public men see that they are aware of it, and propose to be heard.*"

Law-defying liquor-dealers will of course appreciate police-justices who are "fully aware" of the needs of the "*trade in beverages.*"

Three years ago the New York *Times* said: "This city rejoices at present in the possession of a county clerk and twelve aldermen elect who either are, or recently were, proprietors of drinking-saloons. The bar-room influence in politics would, therefore, seem to be in the ascendant, and the results of its supremacy in the past do not encourage the hope that they will be anything but disastrous in the future. While the people nominally elected this large party of rum-sellers to public office, they certainly in no sense of the word selected them. They are merely the choice of certain bosses, who find the corner groggeries the most powerful centers of the political influence to which they owe their power, and they will continue to be chosen, while politicians who call themselves respectable are found willing to do the work of the lowest elements of their party."

"When I want to find an alderman or other official," says a New York lawyer, "as a rule I go to St——'s liquor-shop, in W—— Street. In the afternoon, about three or four o'clock, you can find a good part of the city government there. The other day, as I entered the door, I was struck with the long row of shiny hats and outstretched arms, each hand holding a glass. Excise-Commissioner M——— was at the head of the line, as it was his 'treat.' And these are the men to whom the metropolis looks for reform!"

It is a pertinent inquiry, "Who shall criticise the lawless classes of New York City, when two hundred and fifty police authorities and policemen sit down at a banquet-board and use 'six hundred bottles of wine in one evening?' The rough and the drunkard will naturally plead that they have a right to whiskey and beer if the guardians of the law are allowed more costly drinks."

The president of a liquor-dealers' organization in New York City, a year ago, said: "If the 11,000 licensed liquor-dealers in this city, controlling, as we do, 100,000 votes, would work together for the election of a mayor and a district attorney, there isn't money enough in New York to defeat any big brewer, if we should nominate him for mayor. I don't care what the party is we join, or whether we start one of our own. I am a Democrat, but I'll vote for the blackest Republican, if he will say he is in favor of a fair excise-law."

THE NEW YORK HERALD, about a year ago, said: "Rum is the basis of Tammany; lying and stealing are merely parts of the superstructure. Without rum, Tammany would be more shaky than a house built upon the sand, for it would have no foundation at all. If any one doubts the relation of rum to the Kelly gang, let him contemplate the business record of the Tammany aldermen."

HON. WM. M. EVARTS said, at a public meeting in New York City: "Really, is it not a little hard that we should be called upon to determine, and determine at great odds, and to make a severe fight upon, the question whether the liquor-dealers govern and own this city or not? Why is it that this vast array of the good people of the city of New York, of which you are worthy representatives, are but an uncounted mob against the organized force of these liquor dealers' votes? Ah, gentlemen, why is it that we cannot devote our attention to it without distraction of our purposes and of our objects, in the same way that they unite all their interests, in one common bond?"

FATHER HAGAN, of Chicago, has said: "*No longer must the men chosen to enact or administer our laws cringe through fear before saloon-keepers*, receive their inspiration from whiskey and beer elements in the population, *and speak and act at the bidding of King Alcohol. No longer should the reins of authority and of government be intrusted to men who hold their caucuses around a saloon counter, and make their appointments to public offices at the bidding of saloon-keepers.*"

THE NEW JERSEY TEMPERANCE GAZETTE gives the following suggestive account of the struggle in the Assembly at Trenton, in 1883, over the prohibitory constitutional amendment.

"The recent struggle in the Assembly over the prohibitory amendment presents a subject-matter of study that every patriot should ponder and carefully look into. When the hour had come the rum men appeared in force. Coarse and brutal as they are in character, with swaggering insolence they took possession of the lobbies and other avenues of approach to the men who were elected to represent the people, and, assuming a masterful and autocratic attitude toward the men whom they claimed to own, they openly demanded a continuance of the service that their vassals had pledged to render. With book and pencil the beer bosses kept tally as each man answered to his name. That blear-eyed and beer-bloated men, representing the hoodlum, the

tramp, the street arab, the thief, and the foot-pad, should so absolutely control our Legislature as was indicated on the day when Prohibition was slaughtered, is enough to make all respectable citizens blush with shame."

THE LIQUOR DEALERS of Oregon issued the following "strictly confidential" circular: "The Liquor Dealers' Union of Oregon, by a unanimous vote, hereby invites your co-operation, and through you all your friends in your vicinity engaged or interested in the liquor business, toward securing the election of W. W. Thayer, and the defeat of L. Flynn, for the position of Judge of the Supreme Court of Oregon, for these reasons: First, because of Mr. Flynn's well-known prejudice against the liquor traffic; secondly, he is a strict Prohibitionist, and as such his prejudices must necessarily affect his judicial opinions on the bench, should questions involving the liquor interest come before him.

"You are also asked to exercise your best endeavors to defeat nominees for legislature in your county who are Prohibitionists, irrespective of party."

Influential citizens and others are speaking out on this grave question: —

SENATOR WILSON, of Iowa, has said: "Every man is interested in banishing from our politics a meddlesome, insolent issue that is ever thrusting itself forward, and demanding that all other questions and interests shall be subordinated to it. See how it is continually pestering the municipal governments of the cities and towns of this country, and how rapidly it is carrying them on toward failure. If our form of government shall ever fail, the historian will have no difficulty in tracing the cause to the municipal governments of our cities. And when he reaches that point, he will find that the saloon system was the fountain from which disaster flowed. It is a permanently organized and an efficiently aggressive force. It stands for itself, regardless of the character of issues involved in municipal elections. It cares not how much corruption creeps into the municipal government, provided no restraint be put upon it. It is the unconscionable element in municipal politics which asserts itself regardless of all other issues, and with blind disregard as to the character of candidates."

HON. WM. M. EVARTS has said: "I do not like to see the suffrage used constantly against the power of the great mass of the people, without regard to political parties, by combinations of a selfish kind, that are to hold a rod over the aspirations of the public men of the country. I have seen what I never expected to see in a country like this — a new band of LL.D.'s — a League of Liquor-Dealers [laughter and applause], who are going to determine what shall be the law, and what the methods as between temperance and intemperance in this country. That is not a matter of party; it is a matter of common pride and manhood of the American people."

THE TOLEDO BLADE has said: "It is worse than nonsense to say that the one trade which sets morals at defiance, which is allied to everything that is bad, and which has nothing whatever of good in it, shall not only be above law, but shall make the laws."

WENDELL PHILLIPS has said: "But if universal suffrage ever fails here for a time — permanently it cannot fail,— it will not be incapable civil service, nor an ambitious soldier, nor Southern vandals, nor venal Legislatures, nor the greed of wealth, nor boy statesmen,— rotten before they are ripe,— that will put universal suffrage into eclipse; it will be rum intrenched in great cities, and commanding every vantage ground. . . . . I am not afraid of universal suffrage: I am only afraid of the men who are blind when they vote — the men who come to the ballot-box through the rum-shop."

BISHOP IRELAND, the most prominent advocate of temperance among the Catholic clergymen of this country, in a recent address at Minneapolis, said: "*Is the liquor traffic to be allowed to rule as sovereign over our fair country, and to deluge it with drunkenness and vice?* This is the qestion upon which citizens of America ought seriously to ponder. I know well the value of moral suasion, of teaching by individual example and individual exhortation in our battles with intemperance; but it becomes plain that citizenship enjoins upon us other duties in the premises. The State must interpose its authority to arrest the evil.

"The State alone has the power; the enemy is organized, determined; individual efforts are as bubbles thrown against a well-fortified citadel. *The traffic, conscious of the power of the State, has striven to wrest it to its own ends, and the State must hurry to free itself from its evil-working captor. It is a matter bearing upon its own life: the liquor traffic threatens destruction to our Republican institutions, and even now it has in many place made manhood suffrage a meaningless word.* The State cannot now be silent, and pause while this traffic fills its jails and poorhouses, increases tenfold its tax-list, robs its subjects of virtue, honor, and life.

"The saloons will raise the cry of 'personal liberty' and 'personal rights'; the State must not be frightened by vain words from the clear, imperative path of duty. There is no right, no liberty for men to prey upon the bodies and souls of their fellowmen, and to level blows at the very pillars of society. The claims of the traffic in the name of personal liberty and personal rights is the bitterest irony — a deadly insult to true liberty and to the true rights of men. The liberty which the traffic demands is liberty to enslave us, and to dip out to us its beer and whiskey in exchange for our liberty, our possessions, our manhood, our purity, our eternal hopes. Away from us this demon-like liberty!"

REV. JAMES M. HAGAN delivered an address before a convention of the Chicago Diocesan Union on the evening of ———, at the Union Catholic Library, from which we make the following extract: "It is a stigma on republican institutions that the opposition of men for whose restraint a law has been enacted, is able to render it nugatory. A free government, depending upon the universal suffrage, is not safe unless the deepest reverence for law permeates the public mind. We are moving downward whenever the proclamation of law does not mean beyond peradventure the sure putting into effect of all its provisions. By its defiance of law, the liquor traffic is effectually undermining the foundations of society, and working toward the total disruption of the republic. The traffic is to-day the most dangerous enemy the country knows, and it

amazes me beyond my power to tell, that the American people, proud of their republican institutions, and conscious of their high mission to maintain bright and strong for the teaching of the entire world the light of liberty, can stand idly by, as they do, and permit, almost without a protest, the liquor traffic to mock the enactments of the State, and to proclaim its power to be a mere phantom. *The great need of the hour in America, is the formation of a powerful public opinion which will force the observance of the law by all classes of society.* In our crusade against intemperance, the formation of this public opinion must ever be our chief work." The duty of individual abstinence and of individual effort was urged with eloquent force and pathos, and that this voiced the sentiment of the meeting, was demonstrated by repeated outbursts of the heartiest applause.

ARCHBISHOP MANNING presided at an immense public meeting held in Hengler's Circus on the evening of June 19, 1884, in connection with the great Liverpool Temperance Congress, and in the course of his most eloquent address said: "There is one last argument. You are men of justice, and that includes mercy; and I would ask you whether you do not now see before your eyes, with a certainty that nothing can hide, that this great trade of intoxicating drink has been wrecking and undermining the homes and domestic lives of our people. Talk to me of tyranny, even of the Maine Law! I say openly and boldly, if the present condition of England cannot be cured without a Maine law, a Maine law I would have. [Applause.] I admit that a Maine law may be called an extreme remedy; but have I not already proved that there is an extreme evil, and if temporizing measures will not remedy the evil, let us have an extreme remedy. [Applause]." Among those who supported the Archbishop, on the platform, were the Rev. Prebendary Grier, M.A., the Very Rev. Canon Carr, the Revs. Father W. J. Nugent, Father Bowden, Father Kirwan (Wigan), G. Pearson, R. H. Lundie, W. Bathgate, John Foulks, Dr. Howatt, C. H. Murray, Bailie Selkirk, (Glasgow), and Messrs. Stephen Bourne, William Crosfield, W. J. Sutcliffe, J. Malins, J. H. Raper, D. Finnemore, Charles M'Carthy, Dr. Townson, and others.

VI. THE SIXTH COUNT,

Or the Educational, alleges that the Liquor Traffic is a Great Antagonist to Education.

The education of the young has come to be regarded in modern times as one of the most vital interests of society. The value of popular education needs no demonstration. What are the relations of

the liquor traffic to public education? There is ample evidence that it is an antagonizer in its nature and tendency, and often, by direct and formal conspiracy, against the school.

We have testimony that in Arkansas a "Three-mile Law" has been adopted, prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages within three miles of a school or church, except in cities of the first and second class, and even in the case of some cities, as in Little Rock, the capital. In Tennessee the popular sentiment appreciates the necessity of protecting the educational institutions of the State against the ravages of the alcohol traffic, so that no place for the sale of intoxicating beverages is allowed within four miles of an incorporated academy or high-school, except in towns and cities incorporated by charter; and in many cases such towns have relinquished their charter, so as to avail themselves of the exemption from the liquor-saloon. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island no building can be licensed for the sale of liquors within four hundred feet of a public school,—in the former State, on the same street, and in the latter, within the entire radius.

Why has society found it necessary to protect the school against the liquor traffic? Because schools cannot thrive amid the corrupt influences of the saloon. It has been discovered that the States that have the most whiskey have the poorest schools. Three States which have the least illiteracy, Iowa, Kansas, and Maine, have constitutionally banished the liquor traffic.

DICKENS testifies: "The wine-shops are the colleges and chapels of the poor in France. History, morals, politics, jurisprudence, and literature, in iniquitous forms, are all taught in these colleges and chapels, where professors of evil continually deliver those lessons, and where hymns are sung nightly to the demons of demoralization. In those haunts of the poor, theft is taught as the morality of property, falsehood as speech, and assassination as the justice of the people."

We cite as an evil omen, that one of our great cities expends only $4,482,450 annually for public schools, and $70,000,000 in saloons.

The evidence is clear that intemperance wars against childhood and its educational possibilities; it gives them bad houses, damp, cold, and ill-ventilated; impure air and water; an evil heredity and surroundings;

puny, defective, diseased constitutions; and predestines them to a miserable existence in hovels and almshouses. The temptation to become drunkards besets children on all sides; yea, more, it comes from within —from inherited tendencies. The legalized sale of intoxicants, appealing to inherited appetites, makes the fight a hard one.

In the large cities, where the infamous slums exist, schools are maintained and money and effort are expended to educate and elevate the young, but at great disadvantage. Poverty, ill-clothing, immorality, social disorder through drink, etc., either embarrass and hinder, or altogether nullify, the best educational endeavors. The School Management Committee in London testify, that in one school there were scholars from 313 families of whom 182 families live in one room; another, with scholars from 487 families, 400 of whom lived in one room; another, with children from 339 families, 289 of whom lived in one room. Drink is the cause. An investigation shows that less than one penny per week per family in a square mile of the east of London was spent on education, and more than 4s. 3d. on drink.

There is no class of educational institutions wholly exempt from the dire antagonism of the liquor traffic. The highest and most venerable feel its deadly influence. The liquor-saloons are the bane of the colleges. Young men in colleges are blighted in constitution, character, scholarship, and their life-prospects, by dissipation. Of a graduating class of 56 in a New England College, only 28 were total abstainers. The public press not long ago had this item: "Several young men, students at P———, including sons of President ——— and of General ———, were not long since suspended by the college authorities on account of disgraceful conduct at a hotel on the occasion of a 'wine supper' given to other college visitors from Harvard. They were subsequently taken back, but that does not render their conduct, the details of which as published we will not recount, any the less scandalous." In the same year another item appeared, giving the most "unseemly details of riotous and disorderly conduct on the part of a party of—— students, who invaded a 'fireman's ball' in one of the halls of—— ———, and were arrested by the police. It appears that they 'were

released on bail *as soon as they became sober*,' and were subsequently allowed to settle by the payment of the paltry sum of five dollars fine and costs, much to the disgust and indignation of the outraged firemen and their friends."

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL TIMES, about a year ago, said: "Despite every restraint of home influence and college discipline, college students are yet at a most critical period of their lives brought within the reach of temptations to evil, whose fearful drawing force only the college graduates of recent years can truly estimate. To most, the only result is an upbuilding in firmness of moral character; to some, the outcome is moral ruin. If there has been in the young man's home-training, or if there is in his own mind, any thought of compromise with drinking-habits, the danger grows into a fearful peril. Whoever passes at New London, Connecticut, the night succeeding the day of the Yale-Harvard boat-race on the Thames, above the city, must close his eyes and stop his ears if he would not suffer unwelcome evidence that the only way in which some college students can celebrate success, and others bear defeat, is by the method of the drunkard. Whoever lives close by a great medical school, sooner or later hears drunken young doctors fighting on his pavement, or finds them sleeping on his door-step — victims to the use of the so-called 'medicine' that kills a hundred where it cures one. The recent commencement of a leading New England college, an institution where a high standard of character is made of the first importance, and insisted upon equally with a high standard of scholarship,— a Christian college, in the midst of a Christian and prohibition community,— was inexpressibly saddened by the disgraceful actions of six of its senior class, who, almost on the eve of their graduation, entered upon a night of dissipation, which, beginning in a champagne supper, ended in the destruction of church property, arrest, disgrace, expulsion, and their trial as criminals before the law. It is but one illustration, though an impressive one, of the fact that even the best colleges need the most earnest and judicious temperance and Christian work done in their midst."

A New York paper furnished the following statement: "Late on a Saturday night, a gentleman having occasion to see some one at 'P——'s, Boston, had to go to the billiard-room; and there were over one hundred and fifty Harvard students continually drinking from little tables filled with bottles and glasses of liquors scattered abundantly among the billiard-tables. Some of them were deeply intoxicated already, and their self-control and sense of surroundings gone. How the night *could* end safely for some who were there he could not conceive."

Such are the perils which beset young men and war against our

colleges. The attractive saloon, with its gildings, its fashionable associations, the absence of low drunkards in the winding-up stage, the list of vintage wines, etc., do the fatal, deadly work, effectually counterworking and nullifying the whole curriculum and drill of the college.

President Bascomb, of the Wisconsin University, is one of the ablest writers for the suppression of the liquor traffic. The ire of the Wisconsin saloon-keepers and their political allies has been excited against him. One of them, a member of the Board of Regents, has attempted to remove President Bascomb from the position he so honorably holds, but the attempt shamefully failed. "But at the very time," says a Milwaukee paper, "when the father was pressing his case before the Board of Regents against President Bascomb, because he had tried to save the boys committed to his care from the saloons of Madison, the son of the conspirator was 'ingloriously drunk' in Milwaukee." When brewers and liquor-dealers attempt to depose university presidents who seek to suppress the liquor traffic, the public cannot fail to see the dire antagonism of alcohol to education.

Almost everywhere in this country, it is impossible for a person addicted to the use of alcoholic beverages to obtain a position as a teacher in an educational institution. So manifest would be the disqualification, and so intent are the public upon protecting the young against the influence of the liquor traffic, that public sentiment declares that no man who visits the liquor-saloon, or cherishes anything in common with these pest-houses of evil, is a fit instructor or example for the young. How grave the fault, when instead of temperance teachers, any city employs those who are addicted to drink. We were hardly prepared to believe that such a thing was possible, until we saw the following fact quoted from the *Christian Evangelist*, only last year: "During a brief stay in C————, we were informed by a teacher in one of the public schools of that city, that out of the twenty-six principals of schools in that 'P—— of the West,' as its citizens sometimes take pride in calling it, there are only eight that are sober, temperate men; the other eighteen are patrons of saloons, and are given to hard drinking." It adds: "We have not heard of a fact that has so impressed us with the supreme danger of the liquor traffic as this."

What more perilous to the young? A grave assault upon our cherished institutions!

But we indict the liquor traffic with more heinous offenses against the schools. The *Christian Leader* contained the following item, which shows how the liquor traffic is attempting to control public education in its interest, and override a beneficent law for the instruction of the children. When Gov. Cleveland signed the Temperance Instruction Bill, the organ of the National Brewers said: "The Governor has done an unwise thing, having, on March 10th, signed the bill requiring the study of physiology and hygiene in the public schools, with special reference to the effects of alcoholic drinks upon the human system. Temperance ideas are thus to be popularized in the public schools."

A CORRESPONDENT OF "THE CHRISTIAN LEADER" says: "A recently enacted law in New York directs that text-books shall be introduced, and instruction given, in the public schools on the hygienic effects of alcohol and tobacco. A book for this purpose has been in use in the Rochester schools, entitled, "The Human Body and Its Health," which is said to be admirably adapted to its object. To the surprise of the parents, the children, a few days ago, brought these books home from school, and said the teacher told them that the Board of Education had ordered them removed. The work disapproves of tea and coffee, as well as liquor and tobacco for the young, and speaks of the frequent adulteration of food and beverages. On page 93 you read, 'Beer and porter are adulterated to make them froth, and to improve their intoxicating qualities. Some of the substances used are *coculus indicus*, alum, aloes, copperas, sulphuric acid, *nux vomica*, or strychnine, jalap, and lime.' It is rumored that a brewer has made complaint to the Board against the book, and hence its exclusion from the schools. There is some wholesome excitement on the subject in the city, and the Board of Education are called on to rise and explain whether the brewers are to control the schools. The liquor power has grown unusually defiant of late, and seems conscious of having secured new lease of life."

Less than two years ago, a Washington (D. C.) daily mentioned, in connection with the proceedings of the School Board in that city, that a letter was read from a member of the I. O. of G. T., requesting leave to distribute temperance pledge-cards in the schools of the district, and the request was granted. This action gave great offense to the Washington *Sentinel*, the organ of the brewers, which said: "Now, we think it a great wrong to our public schools to allow any set of

notoriety-seeking fools or hypocrites to interfere with the course of proper instruction, by bringing their humbug pledge-cards into those schools, and asking little children to pledge themselves not to do something of which they have, perhaps, no knowledge as yet."

When beer organs call upon school boards to "forthwith rescind" their orders in the interest of the liquor traffic, it is time for society to protect itself against its encroachments.

But the liquor traffic is still more seriously charged with direct assaults upon childhood and youth. A few years ago, the *Western Brewer* stated that about 450,000 barrels of beer were consumed in Chicago in a single year. It is a fact of awful import that 8,000 minors were arrested for drunkenness in that city; that little children only eight years of age were sent to prison for drunkenness — 220 under 14 years, and in all, 1,782 boys and girls, among whom was one boy 11 years of age, who confessed that he had been committed seven times before.

MRS. EMMA MOLLOY is authority for the following startling statement: "In Chicago children were found going into the public schools drunk. The mothers complained, and an examination was made. It was learned that 12,000 children under fourteen years of age frequent the saloons of Chicago daily. On the persons of these children were found tickets with holes punched in them. When asked what they meant, one of the boys responded that "Jerry Monroe gave us these. One punch means a drink of beer, two a Tom and Jerry, and three a whiskey straight. Whoever gets the most punches in a month is to have a prize. The first prize is a pocket pistol, the second the 'Life of the James Brothers,' and the third a meerschaum pipe." Is it any wonder, with such influences as these, that our young people go astray?

Another disgraceful fact shows how the liquor traffic conspires against education and the young. The liquor influence dominates Boston politics, and, in obedience to its behests, the law which provides that the sale of intoxicating liquors shall not be licensed in any building within 400 feet of any schoolhouse on the same street, has been virtually nullified. When the demand for licenses becomes imperative, they solve the problem by selling the schoolhouse, and placing the pupils in another building. Eight large saloons clustered around a schoolhouse were clamoring for a license. The author-

ities ordered the schoolhouse sold. This was not the only instance. Surely the saloon-power is one of the most desperate and deadly opponents in the way of the education and elevation of the masses. Iowa's motto, "A schoolhouse on every hilltop, and no saloon in the valley," has received an enthusiastic popular indorsement; but we would respectfully amend it so as to read, "A schoolhouse on every hilltop and in every valley, and no saloon anywhere."

VII. THE SEVENTH COUNT,

Or the Family, alleges that the Liquor Traffic Destroys the Best Interests of the Family and the Home.

What other institution is so sacred and so vital to the welfare of society as the family? But how has the family suffered from the depredations of the liquor traffic!

THE CIRCULAR OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION, of the Arch-Diocese of Chicago, in 1884, said: "Alcohol, like a demon let loose from hell, obtains dominion among all classes in the social circle. Homes are devastated; hearts of mothers are broken; the joys of the wedding morning are turned into ceaseless mourning; and children are scattered as waifs over a pitiless world."

THE REV. CANON FARRAR says: "The drunkard almost invariably drags down his wife and family into the lurid whirlpool of his own retribution. Go to some public-house on Saturday night, between ten and twelve, when the miserable workingman is pouring into the till of the publican and the purse of the gin-distiller the money which should clothe and feed his wife and little ones; see when the gin-palaces in our most pauperised districts are cleared at night, a scene which, for vileness, cannot be paralleled in any region of the world. Then follow the drunken man or drunken woman into the lair which they call their home. Home! It is a Dantean hell of brutality and squalor, of which the very air reeks with abomination! 'In former times the wife was usually the victim of her husband's brutishness; now she becomes, in innumerable cases, the partner in his sin. In either case, be she victim or associate, no creature on earth so demands our pity.' While threats and blows resound in that curse-laden air, the children — the ragged, miserable, half-starved, degraded children — the children who will grow up hereafter to recruit the ranks of the felon and the harlot, huddle together in mute terror."

CARDINAL McCABE of Ireland, said: "The terrible crime of drunkenness is like a wild bear ravaging our unfortunate country. It is the great source of misery and crime. . . . . The drunkard becomes thoroughly selfish. He can think of nothing but his own wretched appetite; and to gratify his craving for drink, he will leave wife and child to die of starvation. Where there is a sober father and mother, there is plenty, and peace, and comfort, in the family; but when the demon of drink enters the household, there comes with it misery and wretchedness."

MRS. J. F. WILLING said: "The virus of intemperance strikes at once the family, the seat of the world's life. Its force is spent there before the world has more than a hint of its existence. Pride keeps the doors closed and the curtains drawn till honor is gone and courage dead. The vices that work the worst havoc with family life come like eagles to the carcass in the train of this evil. Intemperance and licentiousness are true yoke-fellows, 'close as sin and suffering joined.' Many a brown-stone front is full of rottenness and dead men's bones. Husband and wife say to each other, 'You go your way and I'll go mine, asking no questions and telling no tales. You may choose your wines, your theatres, your associates, keeping your own hours, and I'll do the same.' Their little children are left to the semi-civilized servants, who teach them everything but what they ought to learn, and the whole concern goes whirling like a plague-ship into the maelstrom of hell!"

What demoralization does the drink traffic inflict upon childhood? An English writer says: "Every one will rejoice at the picture which the Home Secretary drew, in his speech at Cockermouth, touching juvenile crime, and yet it is a most melancholy one; for it is sad to think that in England and Wales, since the year 1854, there have been 81,668 criminal children torn from their homes because of the demoralization thereof, and consigned either to reformatory or industrial schools for periods of four or five years."

It is a matter of wonder that any persons can be found so utterly devoid of moral sentiment as to undertake a crusade against children. Nevertheless such is the case. The practice of selling and giving liquor to minors, though forbidden by law, under penalties, is a current evil, and very seldom punished. If this law was practiced by liquor-dealers, it is probable that the criminal classes would be much diminished, numerically, in a short time. The District Attorney of King's County, N. Y., testifies to the fact that an examination of youthful criminals proves that, with few exceptions, they started upon a career of crime either just before or upon their entering upon their teens.

A gentleman in Canada who had seven sons, was asked why he supported the Scott Act. He replied: "I have seven reasons: my seven sons!" Would that every father felt the force of this answer! A family not far from Milton, Canada, was discussing the merits of the Scott Act, a short time ago, when one of the sons, a bright youth of about sixteen, said, "I believe the Scott Act has done you good, father." The old gentleman, who was opposed to the Act, and a very moderate drinker, acknowledged the truth of his son's statement, and has since changed his opinion concerning the law.

The saloon wars against society by poisoning *the very life-blood of the race.* Physical diseases caused by intemperance are often transmitted, and enter into the common inheritance of society. Dr. Norman Kerr specifies various diseases and cases coming under his personal observation, such as alcoholic phthisis, a "disease frequently imprinted on the constitution of the unborn babe. Hereditary alcoholic rheumatism and gout are constantly to be met with: in no other disease is the heredity of alcohol more marked;" in Britain the proofs are everywhere. Alcoholic cirrhosis, and alcoholic contracted kidney, are very common and pronounced. The blood of the inebriate parent is so vitiated, and his energies are so wasted, that, even when there is a temperate mother, the innocent children are often puny, stunted, and debilitated.

A writer in the *Voice* presents the following summary of terrible inflictions upon the family by the influence of alcohol: —

> "Epilepsy is by no means uncommon. Defective nerve-power, an enfeebled will, and a debilitated *morale*, are a frequent legacy of inebriates to their helpless issue. In one family with a drunken father, two girls were hysterical, and the third imbecile; of the sons, the eldest was an epileptic, the second died of alcoholic apoplexy, and the third was an idiot. Dementia, or idiocy, follows often of necessity from parental excess in drink. Dr. Howe, in his well-known "Report on the State of Idiocy in Massachusetts," states that the habits of one or both parents of 300 idiots having been learned, 145 of these children, or nearly one half, were found to be the progeny of habitual drunkards. He gives the case of one drunkard who was the parent of *seven* idiots! Dr. Mitchel, in his testimony before the Committee of the British House of Commons, said he was quite certain that the children of habitual drunkards were in larger proportion idiotic than other children — a belief shared in by M. Rousel, M.

Taquet, Dr. Richardson, and a host of competent observers. At the recent meeting of the British Medical Association, Dr. Beach, Medical Superintendent of the Darenth Asylum, reported that "an analysis of 430 cases under my own care showed 31.6 per cent of idiotic children to be the offspring of intemperate parents. In private practice the proofs of the influence of parental excess in the generation of amentia are continually confronting me; and among my professional *confrères* there is no difference of opinion on the subject."

DR. BROWN, an eminent English writer on insanity, says: "The drunkard not only enfeebles and weakens his own nervous system, but entails mental disease upon his family."

MR. DARWIN says: "It is remarkable that all the diseases arising from drinking spirituous or fermented liquors are liable to become hereditary, even to the third generation, increasing, if the cause be continued, till the family becomes extinct."

DR. LAUNIER, of the French Medico-Psychological Society: "Alcoholism strikes man not only in his own person, but also in his descendants. The children of the alcoholic parent are stamped, as it were, with a fatal sign that seals their doom and death in an early age."

ERASMUS DARWIN, M.D., F.R.S.: "Diseases arising from drinking spirituous or fermented liquors are liable to become hereditary."

DR. ELAM, a London physician, in a recent work upon Physical Degeneracy, writes of the effects of alcohol as follows: "All this, fearful as it is, would be of trifling importance did the punishment descend only on the individual concerned, and terminate there. Unfortunately this is not so, for there is no phase of humanity in which hereditary influence is so marked and characteristic as in this. The children unquestionably do suffer for or from the sins of the parent, even unto untold generations. And thus the evil spreads from the individual to the family, from the family to the community, and to the population at large, which is endangered in its highest interests by the presence and contact of a 'morbid variety' in its midst."

M. ROUSEL: "One sees alcohol follow the individual in his offspring."

M. TAQUET: "Of many manifestations of alcohol, hereditary epilepsy is the most common."

DR. LAUNIER, of Paris, at the Brussels Congress: "Hereditary alcoholism is an undeniable fact."

M. LANCERAUY: "Cases of hysteria observed in men, are cases of absinthism transmitted by heredity."

DR. TURNER, in his "Second Annual Report of the New York State Inebriate Asylum," the largest institution in the world, states that "out of 1,406 cases of delirium tremens which had come under his observation, 980 had an inebriate parent, or grandparent, or both." He believes that if the history of each patient's ancestors were known, it would be found that eight out of ten of them were free users of alcoholic poison.

DR. LUCY M. HALL, Medical Superintendent of Massachusetts Reformatory Prison at Sherborn, has published an interesting paper on her experiences with patients. Of 82 married women inebriates, 32 were mutilated about the head by drunken husbands, and amid such brutalities they had reared children. Of 111 mothers, 33 of whom had also drunken husbands, 408 children were born; 227 of these perished in early childhood, and many of the others have but a frail tenure of life. Of 204 cases, 112 were married, but 73 were separated from their husbands, 70 were single and 22 widows: of these, 27 began to drink under 10 years of age, 11 from 10 to 15, 74 from 14 to 21, 37 from 20 to 26, 33 from 26 to 31, etc.; 132 claimed to have only drank socially and with female friends, 128 began with beer, 37 whiskey, 20 wine, 8 gin — 91 began at the house of friends, and 64 in a saloon; 67 were Irish, 52 Irish-American, 17 American, 7 negroes, etc. The diseased and depraved physical condition of these women was appalling. One-fourth of those committed commenced drinking while employed at the dramshops that surrounded the mills, and it is a grievous crime of the mill-owners that they permit those infamous pests to debauch their operatives. Beer had been the most common drink at first, but 181 cases got to whiskey as their favorite, and some used oil of peppermint or chloroform to make the whiskey hotter. In a great many of them all moral responsibility had ceased, and as soon as liberated they go into the gutter and from the gutter back to prison, without a vestige of hope for them, so long as the rum-seller is permitted to deal in human lives and human souls.

One of the first literary men in the United States, after speaking on the subject of temperance, said: "There is one thing which, as you visit different places, I wish you to do everywhere; that is, to entreat every mother never to give a drop of strong drink to a child. I have had to fight, as for my life, all my days, to keep from dying a drunkard, because I was fed with spirits when a child. I acquired a taste for it. My brother, poor fellow! died a drunkard. I would not have a child of mine take a drop of it for anything. Warn every mother, wherever you go, never to give a drop of it to a child."

Such is the diabolical war of the saloon against the family in the most fundamental laws of its existence.

Alcohol is the fatal enemy of the workingman, upon whose earnings the family depends. Worse than monopolies and the selfishness of capital, is the saloon curse. There is a vast wisdom in the quaint words of "Uncle Remus": "When I see a man goin' home wid a gallon o' whiskey and half a pound o' meat, dat's temperance lecture 'nuff fo' me. And I sees it ebery day. I knows dat eberyt'ing in his house is on de same scale — a gallon ob misery to ebery half pound ob comfort."

A Geneva letter to the London *Times* portrays a condition of things by no means confined to the Old World. New-World families suffer from the absorption of the wages of the father and husband, often even before it is earned, in the insatiable maw of the saloon. He says: —

"But almost a greater evil than actual drunkenness and the known offenses to which it gives rise, are the time lost and the money spent by workingmen in public-houses, and the untold suffering thereby inflicted on their families. On this point the author of 'Das Wirthshaus' gives some curious information, procured from the *Schuldenbücher*, of certain inn-keepers whose customers are mostly workingmen. Among the instances he gives is that of a wagoner, with a wife and children, who, in addition to money payments, ran up in February last a drink score of 55f.; another workman's 'chalk' for the month was 32f.; a third figured for 31f.; and one thirsty soul had swallowed at a single sitting 14 glasses of beer and 4 glasses of rum. The daily consumption of another guest, who appears to have settled his account quarterly, averaged 5 glasses of beer and 3 glasses of spirits; and still another was in the habit of taking with his dinner 5 'beers' and 4 little glasses of spirits. Herr Siegfried, the author of the pamphlet in question, has had access to the book of a contractor who kept a public-house, and he was thus enabled to compare the earnings of the workmen with their expenditure in drink. One man, whom he calls A., in the week ending January 7, 1881, earned 23f. 60c., and spent 20f. 5c. He thus took home with him as the fruits of his labor, 3f. 55c.—not quite 3s. B. earned 29f., and spent 22f.; C. 28f., and spent 18f.; D. 23f., and spent 10 f.; E. 20f., and spent 16f.; F. 21f., and spent 20f.; and a mason's laborer, besides spending the whole of his week's wages, left a balance of 4f. to the bad. One week, when the men worked less or drank more than usual,— perhaps both,— the inn-keeper contractor had no money at all to pay, and every one of them began the following week with a balance against him."

Said a wife recently, "I could get my husband past one grogshop, but I cannot get him past the nineteen grogshops that are between his home and his place of work."

In the following pungent sentences, Bishop Ireland portrays the fatal and subtle antagonism of the liquor traffic to the workingman and the family: —

"Alcohol pursues the laborer, the mechanic, the merchant, wherever he goes, morning, noon, and night. It is near his place of business, near his workshop, near his residence. It combines with other branches of trade, so that he is compelled, whatever he does, to meet it. The liquor-saloon makes itself a part of the boarding-house, of the restaurant, and of the grocery store. The poor man cannot purchase a pound of tea or a sack of flour without having the odor of alcohol thrust upon him. The boarder has, scarcely after his hard day's work, partaken of his evening meal before

he has been pressed to patronize the bar; indeed, he is perforce obliged to spend the closing hours of the evening in the saloon, which is the sole parlor of the establishment. Bosses around warehouses and railroads will at the same time own saloons, and the men who do not pay for copious potations will soon be discharged from work. He is ignorant of human nature who does not see that a thousand persons will drink when temptation presses upon them, for the hundred who will put themselves to some difficulty to seek out liquor. Why, our working-classes are, we might say, compelled to drink and to become drunkards, so strong are the temptations with which they are beset; and it ill-becomes their fellow-citizens, whom circumstances have placed on safe ground, to rebuke them for their intemperance, while no one lifts the finger to remove or to diminish the fearful dangers with which they are beset."

Alcohol destroys the comfort and happiness of the home. More than any other single cause, it dissolves the marriage bond, and multiplies separations and divorces. At a great temperance meeting in Exeter Hall, three years ago, Cardinal Manning uttered words of great weight and power: —

"I wish some of our great statesmen would walk through our great towns, and would go from house to house with some of the devoted clergymen who know the condition of the people. I wish they would come and hear the biographies of intense misery which are to be found under the humblest roofs; and when they have learned these things, and found that they are all to be traced up to one black fountain, — intoxicating drink, — I believe they would lay aside their political questions and conflicts, and take in hand that which touches the very root of the life and morals of the people. It seems to me that it is time that men should understand this — that while they are legislating, the foundations of society are sinking; and we know that a commonwealth which rests upon a demoralized foundation is a house built upon the sand (cheers); and if there be one thing which demoralizes a people more rapidly than any other, it is that which makes the brains of men to reel, and the hearts of men to be passionate and inflamed, and the wills of men to be unsteady and weak in the hour of temptation; and when I know that intoxicating drink is doing all this, and that in the great centers of our industry, — just there where the people are crowded together, where the national life is intensified, as it were, into a focus, — when I know that there the evil is spreading itself with the greatest intensity, I ask, What are we about? *How is it that men who profess to be statesmen and politicians can waste their time and the time of the Legislature before they take this subject in hand?* (Cheers.)

VIII. THE EIGHTH COUNT,

Or the Philanthropic, alleges that the Traffic in Alcoholic Beverages is the Perpetual Fomenter of Suffering and Woe, the Prolific Source of the Dire Evils which Philanthropy is called to Pity and Alleviate.

The task of Philanthropy can never be finished so long as the liquor traffic exists.

BUFFUM said, one hundred and twenty years ago: "Drink alone destroys, ruins, more people than all other plagues together which afflict humanity."

"THE LONDON TIMES" (January 19, 1863) said: "The use of strong drink produces more idleness, crime, disease, want, and misery, than all other causes put together."

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, the Prime Minister, in a speech in the House of Commons, said: "It has been said that greater calamities are inflicted on mankind by intemperance than by the three great historical scourges — War, Pestilence, and Famine. That is true for us, but not true for Europe and civilized countries in general — certainly not for Italy, for Spain, and for Portugal, and I believe that for France and Germany it may not be; but it is true for us, and it is the measure of our discredit and disgrace." — *March* 5, 1880.

DR. WM. G. ELIOT, Chancellor of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., testifies: "I have lived in St. Louis forty-eight years, and have seen it grow from 7,500 to nearly 400,000 inhabitants. During these years it has passed through trials of pestilence, of devastating fires, of water-floods, and, worst of all, four years of fratricidal war. But I here assert, in all soberness of mind, and with readiness to prove what I say, that all other trials, and losses, and sufferings, and calamities, and wrongs, in all these forty-eight years combined, do not equal the ruinous moral, social, and financial evils that I have seen produced, during the same period, by the one cause — intoxicating drink."

CANON FARRAR (sermon Nov. 19, 1883): "I tell you, every remedy you attempt will be a miserable failure. I tell the nation, with conviction founded in experience, that there will be no remedy till you save those outcasts from the temptation of drink. Leave the drink, and you build them palaces in vain; leave the drink, and before the year is out your palaces will be reeking with dirt and squalor, and infamy, and crime."

"THE LONDON TIMES," March 29, 1881, said: "Drinking baffles us, confounds us, shames us, and mocks us at every point. It outwits alike the teacher, the man of business, the patriot, and the legislator. Every other institution flounders in hopeless difficulties; the public-house (saloon) holds its triumphant course. The administrators of public and private charity are told that alms go with rates, doles, and pensions, to the all-absorbing bar of the public-house (saloon)."

It is a fitting inquiry, "What becomes of all the money bestowed in charity?" This question a Charity Organization, formed a little more than a year ago, has answered, in part at least, when it states that "there are 12,336 different *houses* in New York containing persons who have applied to various associations and churches for relief." It furthermore states, that in a district covering 333 by 486 yards, there are 80 liquor-saloons and 51 lager-beer saloons, and that in this district 20,000 people live. And the Society's record shows "that 1 in every 5.76 of this number is receiving charitable relief." These figures will apply in about the same ratio to other densely-populated districts of the city.

"I have made a thousand dollars during the last three months," said a saloon-keeper, boastfully, to a crowd of his townsmen. "You have made more than that," quietly remarked a listener. "What is that?" "You have made wretched homes — women and children poor, and sick, and weary of life. You have made my two sons drunkards," continued the speaker, with trembling earnestness. "You made the younger of the two so drunk, that he fell and injured himself for life. You have made their mother a broken-hearted woman. O, yes; you have made much — more than I can reckon up; but you'll get the full count some day — you'll get it some day!"

"THE SANITARIAN," an ably-conducted monthly journal devoted to hygiene, in a review of the last annual report of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction of New York City, notes the fact that the aggregate cost of sustaining the charitable and correctional institutions under the charge of the Commissioners the last year, was $1,150,230.55; and that the added cost in dealing with the same class of persons incurred through the police and judicial departments, would probably swell the aggregate to something over $5,500,000; while "the city received for the year about $300,000 for *license fees*—for the privilege of promoting intemperance; the privilege of creating indescribable family miseries; the privilege of causing disease in a variety of forms, but especially idiocy and insanity; the privilege of fostering vice and crime—*these privileges* the city sells for $300,000 a year, and reaps in return inestimable misery, at a pecuniary cost of millions." It adds: "The terrible consequences of intemperance, the part it plays in pauperism, disease, vice, and crime, if in the State of New York alone, would horrify the world! But that which it is doing here it is doing all over the country. It is the black death of the nineteenth century, scarcely less fatal to human life than was that which swept through Europe and Northern Asia five hundred years ago, and tolerated no less blindly. Indeed, the superstitious and imaginative creations which led the people in that age of

the world to attribute the cause of the diseases which swept them away to eclipses, meteors, comets, and earthquakes, while they were blind to the influence of miasms, airless huts, corrupting food, and personal filth, were more excusable than the people of this age and generation are in their willful blindness to the debasing, demoralizing, and death-dealing devastations of intemperance, which they not only tolerate, but sustain at enormous costs. And to expect to stay the terrible epidemic of intemperance, disease, and crime which now prevails, or to reform the criminal's life by the multiplication of asylums, the building of finer jails, larger and better penitentiary accommodations — even to the extent of luxuries — by this exclusive and continuous dealing with *consequences* instead of causes, would only be equaled by the folly of trying to extinguish the flames of a burning city by building a new and larger one of the same combustible material, and with more commodious hospitals for the treatment of the burned."

IX. THE NINTH COUNT,

Or Civilization, alleges that the Liquor Traffic is the Malignant Enemy of our Best Civilization.

What is meant by civilization? It comprises those forces or elements which lift up society out of a state of barbarism into a condition of culture and refinement. Guizot defined it to be "the art of living together."

Evidently the liquor-saloon possesses no elements of culture or refinement, nor does it help people to live together. If the saloons contained those elements, we should expect to see the most refinement, culture, and harmony in the localities where they are the most numerous — the slums of the cities. But, instead, those are the places we most dread, day or night. There is nothing in the drink-saloon which our civilization can approve.

The saloonist parades his business as simply supplying a proper and legitimate demand. *The Leader*, published in the interest of the liquor traffic at Detroit, Mich., not long ago, said: "A good, respectable saloon is as great a necessity in any community as a church, no matter of what denomination. Its existence is as material to the comfort of

the community as the best-regulated dry goods or grocery store. The more respectable the saloon, the more advanced the civilization of the community." Was ever a more outrageous sentiment uttered? All just discrimination is discarded. The saloon only supplies a demand which it creates—a mere artificial, abnormal appetite, the pest of our civilization.

JOHN DIONEY, an old English writer, in "*Ancient Laws Against Immorality*," 1729: "The vice of intemperance debases the spirit and genius of a nation; indisposes them to noble designs and generous actions; and either softens them to an effeminate indolence for the public welfare, or fires them to seditious tumults."

PROFESSOR HUXLEY: "Since I have walked through your great town of Liverpool I have seen fully as many savages, and as degraded savages, as in Australia—nay, worse. I declare it has been shocking to me, walking through your streets, to see unwashed and unkempt brutalized people, side by side with the greatest refinement and greatest luxury. . . . Talk of political questions! . . . . The man who can see, I think, will observe that in these times there lies beneath all these questions the great question whether that profligate misery which dogs the footsteps of modern civilization should be allowed to exist. . . . I say I believe that is *the great political question of the future. If you could only see the right way of doing it, I could see no nobler work than to go with you in that object.*"

THE "NEW YORK TRIBUNE" editorially said: "There is to-day in the English-speaking countries no such tremendous, far-reaching, vital question as that of drunkenness. In its implications and effects it overshadows all else. It is impossible to examine any subject connected with the progress, the civilization, the physical well-being, the religious condition of the masses, without encountering this monstrous evil. It lies at the center of all social and political mischief. It paralyzes beneficent energies in every direction; it neutralizes educational agencies; it silences the voice of religion; it baffles penal reform; it obstructs political reform; it rears aloft a mass of evilly-inspired power, which at every salient point threatens social and national advance; which gives to ignorance and vice a greater potency than intelligence and virtue can command; which deprives the poor of the advantages of modern progress; which debauches and degrades millions, brutalizing and soddening them below the plane of healthy savagery, and filling the centers of population with creatures whose condition almost excuses the immorality which renders them dangerous to their generation."

After the Marquis of Lorne had spent five years at the head of the British administration in Canada, he was asked by Sir Wilfred Lawson what difference the prohibition of the liquor traffic in some portions of Canada had made. The Marquis replied, that "the difference was equal to that existing between savagery and civilization."

The liquor-saloon is the restless, ubiquitous, incessant enemy of Christianity, following everywhere in its track, wherever there are men who can be tempted and ruined. Does Christian civilization open up the pathway of commerce? The traffic in intoxicants rushes in and contests with religion for the possession of the territory. Sometimes it goes in advance of the church and the school, and builds ramparts against them.

The distribution of our fiery and potent alcoholic liquors among barbarous nations just coming in contact with the civilized races, has been a powerful hindrance to their advancement. Almost all people have had some simple means of intoxication, but the distilled liquors of civilized nations are the most depraving and destructive, and the greed for gain which has prompted their introduction among the aborigines of North and South America, Africa, etc., furnishes a chapter of satanic wickedness.

CANON FARRAR has sharply characterized this evil: "At present it is the scourge of nations, and into many nations England has helped to introduce that scourge. We have 'girdled the world with a zone of drunkenness'; we have made ourselves, as the Archbishop of York said, 'the drunken helots of the world.' Such statements only sound exaggerated to those who know nothing of the facts, and who have not heard the bitter cry which has arisen from the tribes of North America, from the West Indies, from India, from Ceylon, from Australia, from New Zealand, from Natal, from Madagascar, from Mauritius, from the Hottentots and Kaffirs, whom drink more than any other cause has helped to decimate and degrade. Yes! even from the Christian section of the population of Palestine and of holy Nazareth itself. We pride ourselves on the abolition of the slave trade, but Captain Burton (Abbhocouta) said that if we restored the slave trade with all its horrors, and rum and gunpowder were unknown, Africa would gain in happiness by the exchange."

These barbarizing influences we are sending abroad are reacting upon ourselves. "Curses come home to roost." A fearful amount of barbarism is being produced in some of the large centers of American population.

HON. HIRAM PRICE, Indian Commissioner, Washington, D. C., said quite recently: "There are 200,000 inhabitants in this city, which is the capital of this great nation, and the central point of its refinement and culture, and yet there is more drunkenness and crime here than among the 250,000 Indians who are savages, and never felt the elevating influence of our modern civilization."

REV. T. DE WITT TALMAGE recently said: "Either rum must be defeated or the Church of God and civilization will be defeated. Better compromise with the panther in his jungle, the cyclone in his flight, or with an Egyptian plague in its ravages!"

THE "HARPER'S BAZAR," in an editorial three years ago, said that some physiologists do not hesitate to assert that "the European races are deteriorating as their civilization is crystalizing," and that this deterioration "is to be ascribed, as much as to anything else, to the constant excitement, more or less, of the brain, through the use of strong beers, and wines, and spirits by the mothers of the race there." The *Bazar* also congratulates its readers upon the general abstinence of American women from intoxicating liquors, and says that upon this fact theorizers claim supremacy for the coming American race.

CANON FARRAR said: "England is very patient; England can stand a great deal, but I take it there is one thing England cannot stand,— one thing which, if England stands, it will be the very surest proof of her decadence, and the most certain precursor of her ruin,— and that is the despotism of the drink trade, to be trodden under foot by the dominant tyranny of the factions which would sway her counsels in the sole interest of the sale of intoxicating drinks. I say, that if these combinations are to succeed, and the policy of England is to be solely decided by the licensed victualers, then farewell to the dignity, farewell to the greatness, farewell to the happiness, farewell to the innocence of England! I should be inclined to say, farewell to a drink-beridden country.

"Then hear me from the harbor's mouth,
Wild wind; I seek another sky."

CARDINAL MANNING, in a great meeting in Exeter Hall three years ago, said: "I said, a commonwealth resting upon a demoralized people, is a house resting upon the sand. We have not got to that yet, but the enormous capital that is yet put into activity for the production and reproduction of intoxicating drink, and for its distribution, never slumbers, never sleeps, never goes back. If it goes on in the ratio and proportion of its past increase, every year will make the danger more formidable, and the demoralization—which at this time may be within measure and controllable—will become beyond all control. (Hear, hear.) I do not desire to be a prophet. I am too true an Englishman to prophesy evil of the country that I love (cheers); but this I know, that if men break the laws of God, as they do who are intoxicated with drink, and if those who could control these things look coldly on and do not control them, only evil can come of it. . . . . If, on the other hand, we go on as we are going, then I have no doubt in saying that our great ports of Liverpool and London may one day be like Tyre and Sidon, and all the activity of our sleepless machines, and the flaming of our furnaces, and our subtle and perpetual industry, and the agriculture of our fields, and all the towering and expanding greatness of the British Empire, resting upon an unsound foundation—the day will come when from its very magnitude it must fall, and great will be the fall of it. (Loud applause.)"

It is impossible to justify the saloon before the bar of an enlightened civilization. A gentleman riding into Salem, Mass., last March, in

company with a liquor-dealer, said to him, "I want you to understand that such a nuisance as a liquor-saloon will not be tolerated in civilized society fifteen years hence." After a moment's pause the liquor-dealer replied, "I begin to think that something like that is coming. It seems to be in the drift of the times."

John Bright said to the liquor-sellers of Birmingham, not long ago: "Gentlemen, you are sure to be beaten in the long run. Why? Because the better civilization of the age is more and more setting irreversibly against the saloon."

X. THE TENTH COUNT,

Alleges that the Liquor Traffic Antagonizes Religion.

With what different feelings we pass by the saloon and the church! They have nothing in common,— no bond of sympathy. Could the liquor-saloon have its way, no sanctuary would long be left in the land.

Gladstone is reported as saying, "When I think of the number of public [liquor] houses, it makes me shudder. Why? Because of the danger and ruin in them to the bodies and souls of men. They are full of deadly peril to all our best and most sacred interests."

Some years ago, Hon. Neal Dow and a rector of the Established Church were the only occupants of a carriage on an English railway. The clergyman recognized Mr. Dow, and brusquely commenced a conversation: —

"Mr. Dow, do you [temperance people] hold that to drink a glass of wine is a sin for us?"

"We say nothing of that; but this is our view. An intelligent man must know something of the sin, shame, crime, and horror which in this country come from intemperance. He must know that intemperance

comes from the drinking-habits of society. He must know, also, that these are upheld and perpetuated by the example and influence of the better classes of the people. For a man who knows all this, to lend the influence of his example to uphold the customs whence all this mischief comes, is a mortal sin. We hold it to be a primary Christian duty so to live that if all the world should follow our example, no harm could come from it. If our example of total abstinence should be adopted by all the world, the sin, shame, crime, and infinite misery coming from intemperance would cease in a day, and the world would be relieved of nine-tenths of the wretchedness by which it is now cursed."

The rector made no reply.

THE LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, in an address before the Episcopal General Convention in 1883, said: "There is a subject which lies at the root of all lay work, and of all clerical work, and of all Episcopal work, and all the conventions, and all the various philanthropic and literary institutions which you have in this country—that is, the battle with intemperance. You may build as many churches as you like, you may open as many free libraries as you please, you may preach as many sermons as you please, you may enlist new armies of lay soldiers of Christ; but so long as you let the demon of intemperance haunt the homes and corrupt the people of this country, so long as you let the bane of liquor continue its ravages among the people without a supreme effort and struggle on your part, the church will be useless, and your sermons will be useless, and your laymen will be useless. The other day I was at St. Louis; I attended a temperance meeting there. A man rose at the end to propose a vote of thanks to me, and he said: 'I have spent my life in St. Louis. I have seen it ravaged by fire, I have seen it devastated by pestilence, I have seen it ruined by civil war; but all the ravages of fire, pestilence, and civil war together have not come up to the mischief caused by intemperance.' I believe that he spoke without the slightest extravagance."

"Beyond all other vices, the liquor business arms both its traders and its victims against the influence of the gospel. John Wesley said of the liquor-dealers of England: 'They murder Her Majesty's subjects by wholesale; neither doth their eye pity nor spare. They drive them to hell like sheep.' Dr. Leonard Woods said: 'No sooner does a man become addicted to the use of spirits, than he seems to become proof against saving influences.' Dr. Albert Barnes said: 'The sound conversion to God of a man who uses intoxicating drinks is well-nigh hopeless.' This is the experience of men in every generation."

Like a mildew of death intemperance rests on society. It is

more than merely a blight; it is a horrid monster. It raises its hideous, defiant form directly across the pathway of aggressive Christianity, corrupting morals, fomenting crime, blunting the religious sensibilities, and staying the progress of the gospel. "There is no good word or work that does not suffer from the traffic in intoxicating liquors. There is no vice or wrong which is not aided or abetted by it." It grasps after the young, and starts them early in the road to death, often snatching them from the influence of the church.

THE MILWAUKEE BULLETIN said: "In one of the most thriving cities of Wisconsin there are about 12,000 people. Of these, less than 800 are members of English-speaking Protestant churches. Of these 800, less than fifty are young men between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five years. Not one young man has been received into the full communion of these churches the past year on the profession of faith in Christ, while over 300 have been before the police court of the city. On a Saturday evening, fifty-four persons, mostly young men, were seen to visit one of the more than fifty saloons of the city during a single hour. Twelve saloons were visited at ten o'clock on the same evening, and found to have, on an average, twelve young men in each, showing the fact that over 500 of the young men of the city were in the saloons at that hour of a single evening. 'What shall the harvest be?'"

Few more pertinent and pungent utterances have fallen from human pen or lip than the words of England's honored statesman,

HON. CHARLES BUXTON, M. P., who said: "The struggle of the school, the library, and the church, all united against the beer-house, and the gin-palace, is but one development of the war between heaven and hell."

And how formidable the antagonism!

GENERAL CLINTON B. FISK, in the New York *Tribune's* "Talks About Town," is reported as saying recently: "The liquor-traffic must be crushed by the people of America. If the saloons of New York were allowed but twenty-five feet front each, and placed in a straight line, they would reach from the Battery to West Point; while the churches of all denominations, Roman Catholic included, would scarcely reach to the other end of Manhattan Island."

The liquor fraternity in England have been alarmed at seeing so many eminent clergy, bishops and archbishops of the Established Church becoming abstainers, and actively devoted to the temperance reform, and have thoroughly armed to antagonize the Church. They have threatened to aid the work of disestablishing the Church, if the clergy persist in opposing the liquor traffic.

CANON FARRAR, speaking at Leeds, said: "The Church of England has faced popes and kings, and is not going to recoil before the threatened vengeance of publicans and brewers. It will do no harm to let it be seen that brewers are not so needful to the church as some people have supposed. Certainly, all that is good in any church can stand without the support of money or influence gained by alliance with traffic in strong drink. At Burton-on-Trent, a curate has roused the ire of local brewers by writing a pamphlet in favor of total abstinence. It has led to their threatening to withdraw their money-aid of some £1,000 annually from the church with which he is connected, unless he is removed from his post. It is said that the vicar has asked the bishop to remove the curate; if it be so, many will look with eager interest for the result. Brewers will not gain much to their cause by making matyrs of their temperance opponents. But drink and the Devil have ever been closely allied, and it is no new thing to find them united on the side of opposition to good works."

It is the enemy of Christian missions.

THE REV. A. G. SHAW, writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of missionary work in Madagascar, says: "But what can the missionary do against this powerful agent for evil introduced in European vessels by professedly Christian men, to the complete destruction of all morality among these ignorant natives? Not only are the people being ruined in body and soul, not only are they becoming so debauched that they cultivate barely sufficient rice to supply their most pressing wants, but they fail utterly to supply that most pressing demand of the foreign merchant and planter,— the labor market. So long as over ten thousand barrels of rum, each containing between forty and fifty gallons, are imported in one year to the east coast of Madagascar, at so cheap a rate as to be retailed at 6*d*. a quart, it is vain for the planter to look for labor, constant, regular, and trustworthy, among these people. And this is the lowest view of the matter. There is a higher and graver responsibility resting upon the British nation, who with one hand send the Bible and missionaries to teach these people, and with the other pour into the country that which washes out at one sweep both the moral and religious life of the natives, and conducts them to an early and certain grave. It is to the disgrace of those speaking the English tongue, that it was their voice which was uplifted to prevent the native government from imposing a higher duty upon this importation, and so restricting in some measure the evil effects upon their people."

What a shame to us is the following fact: Among the regulations of a newly-formed church among the Zulus, in South Africa, was the following: "No member of this church shall be permitted to drink the white man's grog, or native beer, nor touch it with his lips." No need of a prohibitory amendment to that church's constitution!

The liquor traffic antagonizes the Sabbath.

BISHOP IRELAND said: "It is a law in every State of the Union that no selling or buying shall take place on Sunday, and especially that there shall be no buying or selling

of intoxicating drinks. The civil law in this instance but reiterates the precept of the Christian religion. Religion and country derive from the observance of the Sunday signal advantages. The Sunday rest is of serious importance to both. The traditions of America mark out the Sunday as one of our most sacred and time-honored institutions; it is for us, and with reason, a matter of national pride. Sunday morning finds the banker, the real-estate agent, the dry-goods merchant, the grocer, at rest from business, in obedience to law. The saloon-keeper flings open the door of his place of business, and laughs at religion and country. Liquor-selling, above all other business, antagonizes the Sunday law, because it is its talent to beget noise and excitement, which interfere with the rights of the public to repose and quiet enjoyment. In few cities do saloons tolerate the least attempt on the part of the police to close their doors; and even where the doors are closed by fearless magistrates, as they are in St. Paul, the revel still continues within the saloons, to which side entrances give access. Let no one speak to me, in defense of this violation of law, of Puritanism, and Phariseeism: these are meaningless words, repeated to frighten the unwary. Our Sunday is a precious inheritance, and we cannot afford to pardon, in the traffic, its desecration of the day; we cannot afford to overlook the contempt of law which this violation involves."

JUDGE PITMAN says: "It is no chance association which leads to the cry, 'Down with the Sunday laws and the liquor laws,' in so many parts of the country. The traffic wants the day. It wants the Saturday night wages. It wants the opportunity and the temptation to drink on the day of rest. It has the day in Europe; it covets it in America. It will have it unless the political power of the traffic is broken."

In vain will it be said that the traffic is not responsible for these effects, because the sale is not responsible for the use, and that it is no concern of the traffic what becomes of the liquor, or what comes from the liquor, after it passes out of the hands of the dealer. Now, it is well known that the sale does imply the use, the approbation of the use, a desire for a market for the article, and to increase the market. The dealer may not, for its own sake, desire drunkenness, but he desires the gains of the traffic, and for the sake of the gains he is willing to furnish the means which produce all the woes of intemperance; and he will sooner aid in introducing intemperance and all its woes than forego these gains. In other words, is it, or is it not, a moral offense to injure another for a pecuniary compensation, even though the injurious act is not done from ill-will toward the injured party, but solely for the sake of pecuniary profit? It is not necessary to refer such a plain question to an astute casuist. Every dealer in alcoholic beverages knows, when he pockets the gains, that it is the price of misery. When the liquors leave his

store he knows their destiny and inevitable effects. He knows that through his traffic, masters will be betrayed; that sacred obligations will be violated; that men will be turned into demons, and excited to obscenity, blasphemy, and murder; that fair heritages will be wasted and impoverished; that diseases will be multiplied; that unutterable wretchedness will be inflicted on innocent and unoffending victims. All this the dealer knows, and yet, for the sake of gain, he willingly aids in producing these evils. He lays the train. He opens the gates. He furnishes the means. Does the dealer say, "Some one will sell it if I do not?" The Great Teacher said, "It must needs be that offenses come, but woe unto that man by whom the offense cometh."

We hold it as a fair and just conclusion, therefore, that the alcoholic liquor traffic stands in an intimate and criminal relationship to all the evils of intemperance, and, on moral principles, should be held responsible for those evils. Yea, we claim much more.

This Indictment further charges that the liquor traffic is not merely quiescent, inactive, and receptive, accepting only what is bestowed upon it, but *it is an active, plotting, aggressive conspiracy* against the best interests of society, seeking to allure, decoy, and destroy innocent, and often reluctant, victims. It is iniquitous in its methods of procuring customers. The case is one of *malice prepense.* It victimizes its patrons. It is sometimes said in extenuation of the liquor traffic, that it only seeks to satisfy a demand; but this view overlooks a palpable fact — that the liquor-saloons are responsible, in a large degree, for the appetite for liquor. They put forth persistent efforts to increase the demand. The allurements of vice are constantly resorted to, in order to catch victims. The dramshop and the brothel, twin institutions, mutually aid each other; gamblers, thieves, libertines, and pothouse politicians are all friends and abettors of the liquor-saloons. Vice is gregarious. The saloons deliberately excite an appetite for drink among the unwary and unsophisticated. Free lunches, exciting games, floral displays, and concerts attract unthinking visitors. Saloon-keepers work up drinking-parties, in which "the etiquette of treats calls for numerous rounds, and he becomes the hero who empties the

greatest number of glasses." Maddening ingredients, which vitiate the taste, mixed with liquor, produce a frenzy for drink which knows no satisfaction. Saloons are multiplied, on the principle that the supply creates the demand. They are opened in remote suburbs, among cottages of poor laborers and mechanics. "No sooner," says Bishop Ireland, "does a small cluster of houses rise above ground, than the brewer and the distiller send thither an agent to tempt the inmates by offering the fluid at their doors. The ordinary rules of trade cannot, in the eyes of the moralist or the legislator, be allowed to apply to the liquor traffic; because, in this latter we are dealing with a peculiar appetite, which tends ceaselessly to free itself from the restraints of reason, and which grows more insatiate as its cravings are indulged."

It is a crime chargeable against the liquor traffic, before heaven and earth, that it provides an unreasonable supply and creates an insatiable demand, by adding an exterior pressure to the force of appetite. These are the daily doings of the liquor traffic. In the cities, liquor-saloons have so multiplied that they sharply compete with each other for the trade. Hence the criminal devices of the keepers for drawing customers. Under such conditions of competition, even though licensed by law, it is folly to talk of the liquor business being lawfully conducted; besides, under this increase of the saloons, with the temptation at their very doors, men are provoked to drink who would otherwise avoid it.

"This multiplication of the saloons," says Bishop Ireland, "cannot be accounted less than one of the great modern dangers of society. The number of the saloons is an index of the virulence and extent of the drink-plague among us. We have in the United States over 200,000 licensed liquor-shops — one to 250 persons in the entire population. The evil attains its greatest development in cities. In New York, during the year 1882, there were licensed 9,075 saloons. At least in 1,000 other places liquor was sold without license — the grand total of saloons being 10,075, or a saloon to 125 persons in the population. Estimating a family of 5 persons, every 25 families maintain at this rate the twenty-sixth to supply them with liquor. During the same year, in New York, the shops of butchers, bakers, and grocers aggregated only

7,197 — shops for the sale of liquor outnumbering those for sale of food by 2,878. New York is no worse than other cities, the proportion of the saloons to the population being nearly the same in all cities. In Boston there is one to 150 persons; in Chicago, one to 140; in Buffalo, one to 96. In St. Paul we have a saloon to 200 persons — an improvement on Eastern cities. But the improvement does not hold in Minneapolis, where you have one hundred more saloons than St. Paul. When we put aside from the population children, women, and non-drinking men, the figures appear startling: one saloon to every thirty men in our cities. *To maintain the liquor traffic the life-blood must be drained from the victims, and all imaginable contrivances must be set in motion to extract it.* It is no wonder that drink brutalizes and impoverishes those who frequent saloons. The tribute which saloons exact is their whole property, and to secure effectually this tribute, their very souls are led captive in sin and shame."

The direct and positive antagonism of the liquor power to every good thing should be considered. The editor of the Toledo *Blade* (July 9, 1885) says: —

"This power permeates everything. There is nothing it has not laid its hand upon, either to build up or destroy,— building up everything that is bad, and destroying everything that is good. The Church is in its way, and it has boldly attacked the Church; the observance of the Sabbath is in its way, and it has attacked the Sabbath. It has laid its hands upon the Legislatures of the country, and it has its tools upon the bench. It elects officers, and has possession of the courts. It has no politics, no religion; it is working simply for itself. It finds profit in debauching mankind, and it has intrenched itself behind law, behind business, behind everything, and does actually rule the country.

"Its power goes far beyond the political arena. It reaches down into every-day business. Woe be to the newspaper that opposes it, and double woe to the merchant, manufacturer, or mechanic. The brewer and distiller has a dozen other occupations dependent upon them, and which they virtually control, and this united force is used mercilessly against all who offend them. There is no such effective boycotting done by any one else as is practiced by the united rum interest against their opponents. They can act in unison, for no matter how strong individual dislikes may be among them, they have one common interest which overrides everything else."

The charges in this Indictment are the more seriously to be considered, because of the *hostility of the liquor power to law and government,* and the attempted usurpation and control of those high functions

so vital to public welfare, prostituting them to its own base interests. Much evidence has been already cited on this point. But the importance and urgency of the matter demands this special mention. The function of law and government is confessedly the protection of society against wrong-doing. The law is one of the most potent means of instruction in right and wrong. But the liquor traffic assumes to make and unmake laws, to enforce or annul them, thus placing law and order at the will of the wrong-doing classes. Public conscience is thus perverted, and the distinction between right and wrong is blotted out. The liquor fraternity are seeking to wield the power of legislation and government for the greater development and extension of the liquor traffic, whose proportions are already so alarming. How great the influence of the liquor power in the ward caucus, often held in a saloon, shaped and controlled by saloon-keepers and their henchmen! The saloon haranguers prepare their denizens for the election day. A dozen voters to each saloon means 120,000 voters in New York City, and 40,000 to 50,000 in Boston, marshaled and manipulated in the liquor interest. The saloons must be propitiated; the "boys" must be treated. Political aspirants, through proxies, offer humiliating incense on the shrines of alcohol. What a source of demoralization! for often men of education and culture sacrifice their honor and character in patronizing the liquor trade for votes, and become the supple tools of the whiskey power. It is not strange that the laws of the land are not enforced against the liquor traffic.

Bishop Ireland has combined data for this Indictment: —

"Of the 24 aldermen of New York, 13 are liquor-dealers, 9 of them having a third-grade license. The county clerk is also a saloon-keeper. The control of the liquor traffic in New York belongs to three excise commissioners, who, the laws says, shall be 'good and responsible citizens,' and who are nominated by the mayor and confirmed by the aldermen. The commissioners confirmed by the New York aldermen will not be severe on the saloon-keepers. In Chicago, saloon-keepers are numerous in the city council: hence no law in reference to saloons is enforced in the metropolis of the West; and when in 1883 the State Legislature had passed a high-license enactment, the council quickly resorted to a disgraceful trick to prolong by one year the low-license regime in Chicago. In Milwaukee, the efforts of the mayor have been powerless to enforce even the law closing saloons at midnight; the aldermen, many of whom are saloon-keepers, took part with the saloons. Eight of the council-

men of Boston are liquor-dealers. The chairman of the police commissioners in that city is also a saloon-keeper. A member of the council, who is also a member of the committee on police, has been twice convicted of selling liquor contrary to law. Even the school-board in Boston is controlled by the saloon-interest. It is a law of Massachusetts that no saloon shall be opened within a distance of 400 feet from a schoolhouse. To admit saloons into certain quarters, schoolhouses have been closed, and the buildings condemned. The mayor of Syracuse is a saloon-keeper; the mayor of Buffalo is a maltster, and his election was due to the sellers of beer. The lower courts are paralyzed by the control of the traffic. In Brooklyn, a beer-seller was on trial for selling beer on Sunday. The evidence was direct, positive. No attempt was made to defend. The jury at once returned a verdict of acquittal, and at once the jurymen went in a body to the defendant's saloon and drank together at his bar. In Chicago, matters have come to this pass—that the Citizens' League declare themselves able and ready to prove that the grand juries are formed in the interest of the traffic, an agreement existing between the Saloon-keepers' Association and the County Commissioners, that the majority of every grand jury shall be men who are opposed to finding indictments against saloon-keepers violating the law.

"In St. Paul there are no saloon-keepers in the city council; but a majority of the aldermen voted against high-license, under pressure, at least in several cases, from the liquor interest. Minneapolis is no better off on the score of license, and no pretense at all is made in it toward the enforcement of law. It is a very Elysium for saloons.

"The traffic is bold and daring, and its audacity increases with success. It is not satisfied with its control in politics. I could tell how it raises its tyrannical rod in business circles, and threatens commercial ruin on those who oppose its interests. Merchants and bankers, no less than politicians, tremble before it, and in fear smother their conscientious convictions."

Every age of mythology has had its monster of frightful mein and destructive power, celebrated in fabulous story. The liquor traffic is the (great) monster of an age of veritable history, whose frightful mein we daily see, under whose destructive power we daily groan, and whose palpable workings of desolation and woe are more weird and impressive than any pen of imagination can portray. This monster is brainless, and thinks not; he is heartless, and knows no pity; he is eyeless, and sees not his own devastations; he is earless, nor hears the lamentations of his victims; he possesses powerful instincts, but they are only to decoy, to bind, to sting, and to kill; his maw is infinite; it is full of victims, and is never satiated. We press this Indictment against this monster in the name of God and humanity. We present him as a criminal, grim and hoary, with robes double-dyed in the blood of his victims, an offender against all that is good and precious. We present him before the

bar of public judgment, and demand his condemnation. We make this demand in the name of humanity, enfeebled, diseased, deteriorated, deranged; in the name of industry, robbed and beggared; in the name of social and political economy, crippled and pauperized; in the name of civil government, antagonized, usurped, and gagged; in the name of education, perverted, thwarted, neutralized; in the name of families, impoverished, wrecked, ruined; in the name of philanthropy, defeated, trampled, outraged; in the name of civilization, poisoned, misdirected, prostituted; and in the name of religion, dishonored, traduced, nullified. We submit to the *Jury of the People*, that, inasmuch as the object of all government is, by universal consent, to protect and promote the best interests of society, and is so distinctly specified in the opening sentences of all State and National Constitutions, therefore, the only consistent attitude of any well-constituted government toward a monstrous evil which fatally antagonizes all the best interests of society, is that of condemnation and suppression. It cannot be consistent for the State to sanction the evil by licensing it. In no case should the traffic be allowed to proceed under the broad and sacred seal of the Commonwealth. Statutes should be enacted and enforced placing the liquor traffic under the ban of law. The sale of alcoholic liquors as beverages should be made outlawry. The liquor monster should be, by the State, proclaimed an outlaw.

If the foregoing evidence is not invalidated, but sustained, before the Jury of the People, and if, as Lord Beaconsfield has said, "The greatest function of statesmanship is to promote the health of the people," then it is clear what should be the attitude of the State toward the traffic in alcoholic beverages. The utterance of the National Conference of the Unitarian Churches, in 1884, is in the right direction, They said: "The magnitude of the evils which flow from the traffic in alcoholic liquors, and the fact that they affect injuriously all social and public, as well as private, interests, make it imperative that society should step to the utmost verge of its power, in the employment of well-considered legislation for the suppression of the traffic in such beverages."

As to what Government should do in reference to this most prolific source of antagonisms against the welfare of society, the words of an eminent medical authority, the *Physio-Medical Recorder*, of Cincinnati, are pertinent and powerful: —

The "liquor interest" is rapidly growing into a moral and physical blight to our country. On one hand it corrupts and endangers our political liberties; on the other hand it bears down true hearts, bright minds, strong bodies, and throws them as wrecks upon society. No person so deeply knows and understands the extent of this blight as the physician. And no one so well as he understands that tampering with mild drinks is concentrated folly, and that any attempt at "regulating" the traffic is little short of public idiocy. Corporations have but one "regulation" against the encroachments of yellow fever. They do not *license* certain vessels to import it from New Orleans and Grenada to Vicksburg and Memphis, and so make the disease eminently "respectable." Quarantine regulations make a clean sweep of it, and protect the healthy citizens by the *total prohibition* of infected vessels. In a like sweeping manner should it protect decent people and the rising generation from the fatal liquor contamination. While humanly caring for the diseased bodies and souls of those now stricken down with drink, let the fatal supply be stopped by a moral quarantine that shall enforce *total prohibition*."

Hon Mark Doolittle, LL.D., of Massachusetts, said: "Laws authorizing the traffic in ardent spirits as a drink are *morally wrong*. In whatever aspect this subject is viewed, by whatever course of reasoning we are guided in our inquiries, we are brought to the same conclusion. The seal of everlasting reprobation and abhorrence upon this traffic is, that it has *no redeeming qualifications:* it never has done men any good, and, from the nature of the case, it never can.

"Is there any *other* article which the community would sustain for a single day, as the object of commerce among men, that should produce precisely the same effects upon the community that ardent spirits produce? Can the imagination encircle within its scope an *employment* for men, the effect of which is to destroy the physical, the intellectual, and the moral powers of men, spreading disease, poverty, misery, and death through the community, that is not morally wrong? If this traffic is *morally wrong*, it is the duty of individuals to discontinue it, and of government to withhold from it its sanction. Government is instituted for the common good. Every subject of that government has a right to claim from it protection and security against the

violation of his rights. The direct and inseparable consequence of this traffic is, to violate the most sacred rights, to sunder the bonds of society, and bury in everlasting forgetfulness the duties which the dearest relations in life impose. There is not a tie which binds man to his fellow-man that has escaped its direful touch.

"The question arises, What ought legislators to do on this subject? I answer, place the article on the contraband list, and make the traffic in it penal, as deadly to the best interests of men. . . . . The system of revenue which impairs the health, the peace, the domestic and social comforts, the means of usefulness, the physical and moral energies of a people, is a revenue of death. To that people, nothing can be gained by spreading such a pestilence through the land. Why is not government bound to protect its subjects against unwholesome *drinks*, as well as against unwholesome *food?* If he sells unwholesome *food* he suffers the penalty of the law; if he sells unwholesome *drink*, money to the government atones for the widespread ruin which it produces. By what authority does the government make such a grant, and barter the lives and health of their subjects for revenue? Is such authority granted by the statutes of heaven to earthly governments? Can men clothe their fellows with such prerogatives? Does the money paid as revenue vary the moral character of the law, or sanctify its influence on the community?"

We also submit to the Jury of the People whether, in addition to statutory laws, prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages, there should not also be added to the constitution of each State, and ultimately of the United States, an amendment prohibiting the same. Constitutional prohibition means, putting into the constitution of each State a limitation prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors as beverages. It does not cut off their manufacture and sale for mechanical, medicinal, and artistic purposes, but only for beverages. It is purposed that their manufacture and sale for other purposes than as beverages shall be provided for by statute: viz., by the prohibitory statute to be framed for the enforcement of the prohibitory amendment to the Constitution.

Some persons have objected to this measure, on the ground that it is an attempt to embody special legislation in the Constitution; that only great, fundamental principles of law should be put into that document, such as the right of trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, freedom of conscience in matters of religion, etc. But this objection minifies the liquor traffic, and ignores the broad and fatal sweep of its influence against the greatest and most vital interests of human society. In this *Indictment* we have shown how it antagonizes the physiological, the psychological, the ethical, the economic, the governmental, the educational, the family, the philanthropical, the civilizing, and the religious interests of the race — the ten great vital interests which directly pertain to the life and welfare of humanity. Certainly, if society has no claim for constitutional guaranties against an evil of such magnitude as the traffic in alcoholic beverages, we can hardly conceive of anything that deserves a constitutional recognition.

Is it said that there are some personal rights involved in this question? We answer that the whole people, if they choose to do so, in the exercise of their sovereign power, may relinquish any advantages, real or supposed, which, in their judgment, conflict with the welfare of society, and the minority must accept the verdict of the majority. But when so great and so radical a measure, affecting society so broadly in its financial, social, moral, governmental, economic, educational, philanthropical, and religious interests, and upon which widely different views are entertained among the people, is to be settled, it is clear that the question should be submitted to, and decided by, the ballots of the whole people.

To the *Jury of the Whole People*, therefore, we submit this Indictment, for their investigation and verdict.

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PLATFORM

OF

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE

(NON-PARTISAN AND NON-SECTARIAN)

FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

ORGANIZED IN BOSTON, JANUARY 1, 1885.

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1. WE believe the evils of intemperance to be manifold and virulent, alike destructive of individual character, social welfare, and national progress.

2. We believe the common instincts of humanity, the deeper claims of patriotism, and the broader demands of Christian philanthropy, imperatively call upon all men everywhere to make common cause against these evils.

3. We believe the Church of God, temperance organizations, and the circulation of a wise temperance literature, to be chief of these moral agencies.

4. We believe that moral reforms depend primarily upon intelligent convictions in the hearts of the people.

5. We believe it is the right and duty of the State to legislate against the traffic in alcoholic beverages, and to enforce laws duly enacted, and that good results have always followed wise legislation when faithfully enforced.

6. We believe that any proposition so broadly and vitally affecting society in its physical, social, moral, economic and commercial interests as the suppression of the traffic in alcoholic beverages, involving so many questions of natural rights, should ultimately be submitted to the popular vote, settled by the verdict of the people, and thus lifted above the accidents and fluctuations of partisan legislation.

7. We believe that the temperance cause should avail itself of the advantages of legislative and civil action, secured by legitimate political effort; but we nevertheless believe that partisan political affiliations should be avoided, as expensive, dangerous, and often disastrous modes of moral agitation and education.

OBJECTS.

FIRST. The enforcement of laws against the liquor traffic.

SECOND. The withdrawal of legal sanction from the liquor traffic.

THIRD. The suppression of the liquor traffic.

FOURTH. Our ultimate purpose is, by constitutional and statutory provisions, to banish the liquor traffic from the land.

METHODS.

Discarding partisan entanglements, we announce our sole purpose to be the suppression of the liquor traffic; and for this we propose,—

FIRST. To create and intensify public sentiment, by the pulpit, the platform, and the press.

SECOND. To educate the young, in the public schools and elsewhere, as to the nature and effects of alcoholic liquors.

THIRD. To use all legitimate civil legislation, and to refer the question for final decision, to the constitutional verdict of the people.

We invite persons of all classes, creeds, parties, and States to unite on this platform, and work and vote against the liquor traffic without exposing the cause, with its varied interests, to the personal schemes of politicians and the perils of party politics.

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